



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Ethiopia

Rebels Attack Two Battalions of Government Troops

EA1106103690 (Clandestine) Voice of the Ethiopian People for Peace, Democracy, and Freedom in Amharic 0430 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Excerpt] The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] People's Army has attacked two battalions of the 114th Brigade of the 7th Division of the enemy army which advanced from Fiche and Gebre Guracha [respectively 60 and 80 miles north-northwest of Addis Ababa on the road to Gonder through Debre Markos].

During the engagement, which took place 4 and 5 June, our People's Army left 30 enemy troops killed, 17 wounded, and 17 captured. In addition, 23 different types of light weapons, explosives, and a large quantity of bullets have been seized. [passage omitted]

Somalia

8 Jun Palace Explosions Reportedly Mortar Fire

AB1206104190 Paris AFP in French 0943 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Nairobi, 12 Jun (AFP)—The explosions that were heard the night of 8 June at the Mogadishu Presidential Palace, were mortar rounds, various diplomatic sources from Nairobi said. Shells fell in the palace courtyard, near the residence of the prime minister, [Lieutenant] General Mohamed Ali Samantar, not far from that of Mohamed Siad Barre, the Somali head of state. Messrs. Siad and Samantar were both at the Presidential Palace when the explosions took place.

The same sources remarked that only the military possesses mortars. Ten days earlier, an attempted mutiny accompanied by some shooting between members of the Red Berets of Siad's Presidential Guard, left four soldiers dead, the same sources further disclosed. Shots are

heard every night in Mogadishu and last week a grenade was thrown into the courtyard of the U.S. Embassy without killing anyone.

On Saturday morning, the Somali national radio interrupted its usual program in order to make an announcement on an [word indistinct] explosion at the Presidential Palace, travelers said. The next day, the national radio denied the explosion and said that the incident occurred when a member of the Presidential Guard accidentally fired his weapon. Travelers questioned in the region confirmed that they heard several explosions which could be heard from a distance, starting panic among the population.

The Somali head of state left Mogadishu on Sunday for an official visit to Libya, it was learned from a diplomatic source. Libya is the main supplier of weapons to Siad's regime whose troops have been constantly crushed in the North by the rebels of the Somali National Movement.

Tanzania

Legislators Warn of Western Political Pressure

EA1106194490 Dar es Salaam External Service in English 1600 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Dar es Salaam—MP's have criticized Western countries for forcing developing countries to adopt multiparty systems as a pre-condition to get their assistance. Debating the 1990-91 budget proposals and the annual development plan, the MP's said the move was aimed at crippling the economies of Third World countries. They said at first they were using economic weapons to suppress the developing countries and now they have decided to use politics.

The MP's cautioned the government over those tricks and urged it to be firm against any conspiracy aimed at disrupting the country's national unity and stability. They went on to say that the only way to get rid of those imperialistic maneuvers was to increase both industrial and agricultural production. The House's members said this would be achieved through hard work, accountability, and a proper use of government funds and [word indistinct].

Minister Discusses 'Discriminatory Legislation'*MB1106195090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1935 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Text] Parliament, June 11, SAPA—The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act and other discriminatory legislation would free the country of a guilty conscience, the minister of planning and provincial services, Mr. Hernus Kriel, said on Monday [11 Jun] night.

It would remove the stumbling blocks to real negotiations, he said while giving the reasons why the government had decided to repeal the Separate Amenities Act.

It was basically discriminatory and would cause racial friction. It was also a stumbling block for South Africa's return to being accepted into the international community.

The repeal of the legislation also showed that the government had confidence in the population's ability to share facilities in a way which people respected each other.

Mr. Jan Hoon (DP [Democratic Party] Kuruman) said that if the Separate Amenities Act was accepted as being discriminatory and immoral then the whole concept of own affairs, including the tricameral parliamentary system, was also discriminatory and without moral principle (gewetenloos).

Members of Parliament Discuss De Klerk Reforms*MB1106142890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1300 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Text] Parliament June 11 SAPA—If the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, had exceeded his party's mandate obtained in the September 6 election, it could be forgiven, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr. Zach de Beer, said on Monday [11 June].

Speaking in a declaration of vote on the state president's vote, Dr. de Beer said South Africa had been on a steadily declining road a year ago, where everyone was getting poorer, there was a rise in conflict, the country was being governed under a state of emergency and the international position had deteriorated.

"It was a slow decline but there was no light at the end of the tunnel. The only alternative was to strike out boldly and to try and build one nation.

"The state president has attempted to follow this difficult road. There will be many problems and uneven patches, but it is the only road which will give us hope."

The chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Assembly, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, said if ever there was an opportunity for Parliament to support a state president, then it was now.

"Ever since the 1980's it has been the National Party's policy to implement power-sharing and the state president has put this into practice.

"In Mr. John Vorster's time it was our policy to do away with discrimination—this the state president has done.

"It has been our aim to normalise the situation in the country through negotiation, which the state president has begun."

The state president was taking steps to lead South Africa out of its isolation so that sportsmen and industrialists could compete internationally on equal terms.

Mr. Frank le Roux, chief whip of the Conservative Party [CP], said his party would not support the vote as, after careful consideration of happenings since the September 6 election, the CP had decided that the state president had flagrantly disregarded the mandate received from the electorate.

"We categorically reject this vote on the basis of the state president having released Mr. Nelson Mandela without his renouncing violence, unbanned the ANC [African National Congress] and SACP [South African Communist Party], released so-called political prisoners, neglected to implement the laws of the country and has disregarded the group areas and other laws.

"We demand a general election to get the country operating on an orderly political basis."

Coverage of United Nations Delegation Visit**Meets ANC, UDF, PAC***MB1106112390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1040 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Text] Cape Town June 11 SAPA—The United Nations factfinding team in South Africa has met with members of the ANC [African National Congress], the UDF [United Democratic Front], the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] and the Black Sash since Sunday [10 Jun], a spokesman for the group said in Cape Town on Monday.

They are scheduled to meet government ministers on Tuesday, but a meeting with Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha—loosely scheduled for Tuesday as well—has been held over "until later in our tour".

"We will see Mr. Botha in Pretoria at a later stage," the UN spokesman, Mr. Michael Moller, said.

The team meets representatives from IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa] and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] on Monday as well as Solidarity Party leader, Mr. J.N. Reddy.

On Tuesday, the group will meet the minister of education and development aid, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, minister of constitutional development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, "and possibly the minister of health, Dr. Rina Venter," Mr. Moller added.

They are also scheduled to meet Rev. Allan Boesak, members of the Democratic Party and South African newspaper editors on Tuesday.

"We will meet the minister of manpower, Mr. Eli Louw, on Wednesday, and possibly Archbishop Desmond Tutu as well," Mr. Moller said.

He said it was unlikely the team would visit controversial areas in Cape Town such as crossroads "due to the pressure of time."

"We may, however, invite some of the civic leaders of such areas to come and speak to us," he said.

He said that as far as the team was concerned "everything is going well" and it was carrying out its functions smoothly.

The UN team will be in South Africa until June 20, and consists of a six-man group with a three-woman-one-man support team.

It is led by the UN under secretary-general for special political questions, Mr. Abdulrahim Farah, and assistant secretary-general of the Centre Against Apartheid, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris.

The team will be in Cape Town until Wednesday, after which it flies to Durban for one-and-a-half days. Thereafter, it will spend the rest of its mission in Johannesburg. The last day of the mission will be spent in Pretoria.

Parliamentarians Comment

MB1106144390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1408 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Parliament June 11 SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] had refused to talk to the United Nations delegation because it regarded its presence in South Africa as blatant interference in the country's domestic affairs.

Explaining the CP's decision to vote against the foreign affairs vote of the budget, Mr. Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said the UN delegation had made it clear it supported the Harare declaration and the CP could not accept this.

Mr. Colin Eglin (DP [Democratic Party] Sea Point) said on behalf of his party that only those who had a warped approach to South Africa would not be pleased with the progress that had been made in foreign affairs.

Mr. Renier Shoeman (NP [National Party] nominated) said the visit by the UN delegation was in no way accepted by the NP as having the right to interfere in South Africa's affairs.

ANC Official Details Talks

MB1106133690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1207 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Cape Town June 11 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] has welcomed "the initiative taken by the United Nations" in sending a delegation to South Africa and said its recent meeting with the UN team in Cape Town had been a positive one.

This was said by ANC executive member for the western Cape, Mr. Trevor Manuel, in Cape Town on Monday [11 June].

"We feel quite positive after the meeting. No final conclusions have been drawn, but it was a good opportunity to give the delegation our perspectives on issues in South Africa," he said.

"The delegation came well prepared and asked many questions. We were able to develop our thoughts and perspectives, and we are confident the delegation's findings will favour those who strive for peace in our country," he said.

He added the character of the meeting had to be taken into account, as the UN team was "essentially a commission of investigation" into progress made in the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid. This declaration was adopted during a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations December 14, 1989, and calls for an end to apartheid through negotiations.

The ANC team consisted of Mr. Christmas Tinto, Mr. Zolile Malindi, lawyer Mr. Dullah Omar and Mr. Manuel.

The UN team, which arrived in Cape Town on Saturday, has seen representatives of the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress], the UDF [United Democratic Front] and the Black Sash as well as the ANC since Sunday.

It is due to see government representatives on Tuesday.

Buthelezi Responds to Claims of Inkatha Violence

MB1106141090 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
11 Jun 90 p 9

[Open letter by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha]

[Text] The media knows that apartheid is doomed and that politics concerns the putting together of the kind of forces which will ensure that apartheid is replaced by a meaningful democracy.

To my thinking, this implies that politics should [be] about establishing a multiparty democracy in which there is total equality before the law and the constitution for every South African.

It is for the purpose of negotiating for such a democracy that Inkatha is being transformed from a liberation movement into a national political party.

As a political leader I must undergo the scrutiny of the press of everything I do and say, because that is the way democracies work in which the press is free. Fair comment is fair comment and I welcome it.

I wonder, however, whether the statement contained in your otherwise welcome editorial published on May 30 that "Inkatha has lost prestige through its involvement in the endemic political bloodshed in Natal" is a fair comment.

If Inkatha has lost prestige, it is because it has been subjected to brutal attack while it has been presented as the attacker and not the attacked.

It really is not fair to condemn Inkatha only.

If freedom and justice are to be served, they will be served by a multiparty democracy.

All major political organisations in a future multiparty democracy will, like Inkatha, have gone through a mill of violence.

The ANC [African National Congress], UDF [United Democratic Front], COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the National Party—through the involvement of the South African Government—have all been mangled by the kwaZulu/Natal violence.

Why select Inkatha as the only organisation whose reputation has been tarnished? Is it not time to shame violence? To lay false blame is not the correct way of doing so.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha

Ulundi

PAC Acknowledges 'Inevitability of Negotiations'

*MB1106141190 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
11 Jun 90 p 13*

[Report by Kaizer Nyatsumba]

[Text] The PAC [Pan Africanist Congress], known for its radicalism and outright rejection of negotiations at this stage, has acknowledged the inevitability of negotiations and the irreversibility of political change in the country since February 2 this year.

These surprise acknowledgements are made in the PAC's comprehensive economic policy document—believed to be the first major position document to be released by the organisation since its formation in 1959.

The detailed document, "The Economic Policy of the PAC, an Exploratory, Diagnostic and Contingency Exposition," was unveiled by General Secretary Benny Alexander at a recent dinner hosted by the African Council of Hawkers and Informal businessmen.

In it, the organisation also analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the broad South African liberation movement.

It concludes that the movement has "failed to overthrow the South African State through revolutionary means." This, the PAC says, makes negotiations inevitable.

"The most important thing to consider, with respect to the political dispensations taking place in occupied Azania, is that whatever will be the outcome of a negotiated political accord, the Africans sooner or later will be the beneficiaries."

The political change which has taken place in the country since February 2 is irreversible, and this is one of the strengths of the liberation movement, the PAC says.

Also on the positive side is that the leadership of the liberation movement is now going to be based inside the country; homelands throughout the country are tumbling; and black workers have become highly mobilised politically.

But the PAC also lists some of the major weaknesses:

The movement has failed to overthrow the Government through revolutionary means. "The military force of the state," the PAC says, "is intact and is there to protect the political and economic interests of the European settlers."

The movement does not have a strong military presence either inside the country or in the neighboring states "to promote and protect the interest of the Africans."

The movement and its constituency lacks the necessary technical, professional and managerial know-how to run the country's economy, and is handicapped by a host of other deprivations.

Blacks in the country do not speak with a single voice, and hitherto sympathetic African states are "tired of waging war" with South Africa and want to see a negotiated political settlement.

White Security Movement Denies NUM Bomb Links

*MB1106093990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0937 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Text] Welkom June 11 SAPA—The leader of the Blanke Veiligheid [White Security] Movement in Welkom, Mr. Hennie Muller, says the organisation dissociates itself from the bomb explosion at the National Union of Mineworkers' [NUM] regional office in the city.

Mr. Muller said this type of action was not necessary and that he objected strongly to allegations that right-wing vigilante groups were responsible for the action, even before the investigation had got under way, reports SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news.

A 30-year-old white mine captain of Welkom is being questioned by the security police in connection with the bomb explosion at the NUM offices in the city on Saturday [9 Jun] night.

A spokesman for the police said in Pretoria that there was no connection between this explosion and that at Melrose House museum in Pretoria last month.

Commercial explosives such as those utilised on mines were used in both instances.

The historic Melrose House museum in Pretoria, which was damaged in an explosion on May 23, will re-open to the public on Tuesday.

The curator of the museum, Miss Elsabe du Toit, told the SABC the two rooms in the museum that suffered the worst damage would remain closed for several months while repairs were being carried out.

The police arrested five men shortly after the explosion. Two of the men have been released while the other three are being held in terms of the Internal Security Act.

11 June Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB1106132590

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

Returns Needed on De Klerk 'Risks'—Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 10 June in a page 14 editorial warns that if President de Klerk "can show no return on the risks he is taking—and, make no mistake, anxious white South Africans are in need of reassurance—the pressure-cooker that is building up on his right will reach explosive levels. As it is, the growing awareness that he may no longer command the support of a majority of whites must have a sobering effect on him and his Cabinet." But "to his credit" De Klerk "shows no signs of being deflected from his course."

Lifting Emergency Moves Debate Ahead of ANC Immediate Demands—The lifting of the state of emergency "marks a decisive move from a dark era in our history to one of new promise," observes a second editorial on the same page. "Any benefits achieved by a temporary 'stabilisation' of the security situation under the emergency were far outweighed by the damage done to the principle of public accountability in policing and to the political process as a whole." By De Klerk's "unerring skill at kicking at moving goalposts" he has "already indicated his willingness to review other security laws, thus again leapfrogging the debate ahead of the immediate demands of his opponents. The political playing field, whether the ANC [African National Congress] and others wish to acknowledge it or not, is growing ever more level. The real game—negotiating a new society—is upon us."

SUNDAY STAR

Criticism of ANC Denial of De Klerk Credit—"The ANC is not helping its own constituency and much of the population with its constant denial of credit where credit is due; its hesitation to acknowledge positive actions on the State President's part might just hinder progress," affirms Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 10 June in its page 14 editorial. "One-upmanship is the universal game of all politicians, but sometimes even politicians must stare reality in the face. Mr. de Klerk still has a long way to go in unravelling the mess successive Nationalist governments have made. He seems to have realised the urgency of the situation. But it does not help him to deny him much-needed credit which, if anything, could at least

assure him that all the rightwing harassment he must endure has not been in vain."

THE STAR

Need for Police Riot Training—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 11 June in a page 12 editorial says the extra money allocated to "raise the strength of the police force and improve service conditions" is "timely and welcome." THE STAR believes a vital area for improvement is in riot training because "inadequate training and lax discipline at critical moments have been evident."

BUSINESS DAY

Editorial Acclaims Lifting Emergency—The lifting of the state of emergency "was a necessary prelude to the normalisation of South African society," notes Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 11 June in a page 8 editorial. Although the lifting of the emergency "will do nothing to curb violence," the emergency measures did not solve "anything." "Whether or not the SACP's [South African Communist Party] Ahmed Kathrada intended, in dismissing the lifting of the state of emergency as a 'half-measure', to repudiate the more enthusiastic response of Nelson Mandela, we think Mandela was correct to acclaim President de Klerk's actions. We, too, acclaim those actions."

SACP Must Come out of Hiding—Editor Ken Owen writes on the same page that "so long as the members of the South African Communist Party [SACP] refuse to come out of hiding, other opponents of apartheid need to assess the risks of accepting an invitation to join a common front with the outfit laughingly known as the Mass Democratic Movement, alias the UDF [United Democratic Front], alias the ANC, alias the SACP. Behind the smiling mask lies an organisation that thrives on secrecy: totalitarian, driven by fascist instincts, undemocratic, manipulative." Owen believes the SACP is "the rider, the ANC its horse, and until the rider can be properly identified—until the SACP members step into the light—it will be very difficult for anybody, liberal or Nationalist, to deal with the ANC."

SOWETAN

Black Education Strategy Doing Damage—"The time has come to focus on the damage we seem to be doing to ourselves in the process of correcting the wrongs in the country's education system," warns the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 11 June. A Congress of South African Students spokesman was quoted as saying in a Sunday newspaper his organization "decided to suspend principals from Soweto schools for two weeks so they could put pressure on the Department of Education and Training to supply schools with the required textbooks and replace damaged desks." The suspension is an "irresponsible act which undermines the authority of the principals."

* SACP's Influence Within ANC Revealed

34000667 London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL
in English 4 May 90 pp 1-2

[Text] The South African Communist Party (SACP) is basking in the glory of emerging stronger than ever from 40 years of illegality, its popularity at an all-time high in the South African townships. It is arguably the most dynamic communist party in the world. But for the comrades there is a cloud on the horizon, quite apart from the disasters which have befallen international communism. The Party, made legal on 2 February for the first time since 1950, must now come above ground and reveal its membership.

The Party's response so far has been to declare its intention to remain underground. It is suffering from its own success. In 30 years of exile, the Party has not been content with dominating the African National Congress (ANC) ideologically. It has gone on to take virtually every position of influence in the organisation. Revelation of Party membership would thus unmask the Party's domination of the ANC, which it has turned from a broad front into a socialist party. This would be discomfiting in that it would confirm Pretoria's well-worn accusation that the Party, during Nelson Mandela's long incarceration, came to dominate the ANC.

Some Party members over the years have cautioned against the single-minded pursuit of every position of influence in the ANC. They warned that this would vindicate the allegations of Pretoria and alienate nationalists within the ANC. This view was championed by the late Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the Party from 1979 to 1986. He was opposed by his successor, Joe Slovo. Slovo and his allies, who include the irrepressible Chris Hani, argued that the Party had to consolidate its hold over the ANC lest some nationalists try to rupture the alliance. Since Party membership was secret, they argued, this did not run the risk of alienating nationalists.

In numerous issues of the Internal Party Bulletin which is circulated to all members, Slovo and his allies have hammered out the line that the Party's organisational strength must be commensurate with its growing popularity before the Party would endorse a negotiated settlement in South Africa. This clarion call has led to an intensified drive to recruit Party members from within the ranks of the ANC and related organisations, spearheaded by Hani. In recent years he has provided the vital link between the Party and the ANC's most populous institution, its army. During the 1980s the Party was transformed from a think-tank into a mass movement, a fact some blame for the intrusion of undesirable elements. A case in point is that of a senior cadre who fell from grace while he was heading an important Party unit. He was recently sentenced by a Zambian court to imprisonment for mandrax-trafficking.

Of the 35 members of the ANC's National Executive Committee, only the following were not Party members before Mandela's release in February 1990: Oliver Tambo;

Joe Modise; Thomas Nkobi; Pallo Jordan; Mzwai Piliso; Ruth Mompati; Joe Nhlanhla; Jackie Molefe.

The ANC is divided into three offices: the President-General's Office, the Secretary-General's Office, and the Treasurer-General's Office. A glance at these reveals the Party's overwhelming dominance.

1. The President-General's Office. Under this falls the Political Military Council, which comprises the Army, the Security and Intelligence organ, the Political Commission, the Department of Information and Publicity, etc. The administrative secretary of the President-General's Office is a Party member, Anthony Mongalo, former ANC chief representative in East Germany and hunting-companion of Erich Honecker. He is the man who arranges the itinerary of ANC President Oliver Tambo and is responsible for liaison with other departments. His is one of the most influential positions in the ANC.

The South African Communist Party Has Come To Dominate the ANC in Exile

The Political Military Council is run by SACP Central Committee member Josiah Jele. The Political Military Council, responsible for the day-to-day management of the struggle, was until recently the most powerful organ in the ANC. Its forerunner was the Revolutionary Council, set up in 1969. This was always a Party fief, headed successively by Party barons Joe Matthews, Moses Mabhida and SACP Politburo member John Nkadimeng. In 1983 the Political Military Council superseded the Revolutionary Council and for the first time it was headed by a non-Party man, Joe Nhlanhla. However, the locus of real decision-making passed to the Military Headquarters, Political Headquarters and Security and Intelligence Headquarters. Only after the outbreak of the Vaal uprising in South Africa in 1984 did Nhlanhla regain some of the power enjoyed by his predecessors. In 1987 Nhlanhla was replaced by Party member Josiah Jele as secretary of the Political Military Council.

The Army, although led by non-communist Joe Modise, is also a Party fief. Of the eight-member Army Headquarters set up in 1983, only three were not Party members—Modise, Jackie Molefe and Lehlohonolo Moloi. Here, the Party was thwarted by the formidable in-fighting skills of Modise (AC Vol 31 No 8). Eventually he was out-flanked by the Hani-Slovo axis in securing the allegiance of key officials.

The Security and Intelligence Department also became the scene of a fight for turf between Mzwai Piliso, the department head, and his deputy Peter Boroko, a Party member. The resulting paralysis led to the dissolution of the directorate in 1987. Only one member of the directorate was retained—Party Central Committee member Sizakele Sigxashe. His position as intelligence analyst enabled him to play the critical role even before the dissolution of the directorate. He was able to control the flow of information to Piliso in line with Party wishes.

The Political Headquarters was a real Party bastion. Its head was John Nkadimeng, replaced by Jele when he left to take over the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) from yet another Party member, John Gaetsewe. The secretary of the department was Party Politburo member Mac Maharaj and its underground operations chief was Party member Jacob Juma, now intelligence chief.

At a regional level too, the Party secured its dominance of the Political Military Council structure established in 1983. Four of the five Regional Political Military Councils were headed by Party members. London was under Party Central Committee member Aziz Pahad; Gaborone under Central Committee member 'Che' Ogara; Maseru under Party member and Lenin School graduate Patrick Mabaso; Manzini under Party member Klaus Maphepha, replacing another Party member, Ismael Ebrahim. Only in Zimbabwe, which has always been Modise's patch, did the Party fail to get control of the local Regional Political Military Council until 1987. In that year, the Party managed to wrest the Harare position from Modise's man and replace him with Lenin School graduate Garth Strachan, the son-in-law of Central Committee member and Military Intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils.

Another important Party fief in the President General's Office is the Department of Information and Publicity. Here Politburo member Thabo Mbeki reigned supreme for years. The department has since fallen into the hands of non-Party man Pallo Jordan. Some feel that the appointment of communist Ahmed Kathrada as Internal Publicity chief is designed to check Jordan. Insiders say the Party would like to see Jordan return to an academic position as Chief Research Officer.

2. The Secretary General's Office. This is headed by Alfred Nzo, a former member of the Party Central Committee. His deputy is Henry 'Squire' Makgothi, a Central Committee member. The administrative secretary of the office is Party member Sindiso Mfenyane, who is also head of the Secretariat of the ANC's governing body, the National Executive Committee. Mfenyane is married to a Soviet citizen, Rita. Their son is named Nikita after the late Nikita Krushchev.

The Department of International Affairs is now headed by Thabo Mbeki, with Party member Stanley Mabizela as his deputy. The Education Department is under Seretse Choabi, a Party member reputed to be one of the top Marxist intellectuals in the ANC. Under him is the principal of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College Andrew Masondo, a former Central Committee member. The Party ensures that it is not just the soldiers,

under their political commissars, who receive a sound ideological training, but ANC cadres generally.

The Women's Section is headed by Party member Gertrude Shope, wife of the veteran Communist Marks Shope (AC Vol 31 No 1). The Youth Section head, Jackie Selibe, is known to harbour an abiding hatred for Party baron Chris Hani, but to be close to both Thabo Mbeki and Josiah Jele.

3. The Treasurer General's Office. This has been remarkably free of Party influence since its takeover by Thomas Nkobi, a non-Communist. Nkobi's predecessor was none other than the fiery Party boss, the late Moses Kotane. Nkobi's leadership style is autocratic and reposes on personal loyalty. But the Party's weakness here is more a reflection of contempt than defeat. The Treasury is mostly involved with technical matters, paying bills and running farm projects. It is not at the cutting edge of the struggle. However, the Party's veritable obsession with control has sometimes made itself felt, as in the appointment of Party member Kay Moon-samy, formerly SACTU treasurer, as the head of the financial section.

In effect, the Party and the ANC have ceased to be two allied organisations and have become one body with two heads. All Party members are also members of the ANC. The Party uses the ANC as a pool in which to recruit the best and the brightest for Party membership. It is essentially a parasitic relationship.

If the Party were compelled to reveal its membership, it would reveal many of the same faces who have become known as ANC members. If black communists such as Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and Alfred Nzo were forced to choose between membership of the Party or of the ANC, which way would they go? The real mass power-base in South Africa is with supporters of national liberation, and our guess is that shrewd politicians would choose the ANC rather than the Party. It may thus be that the bulk of the communists who would stay with the Party through thick and thin would be the non-blacks, people like Joe Slovo, Reg September, Mac Maharaj and others, who can have no hope of cultivating a mass following among black South Africans other than through the Party. They could make a pitch for the support of organised labour. We estimate that, when the chips are down, they alone will show themselves to be true Marxist-Leninists, whose first loyalty is always to the Party.

Reportage on Nelson Mandela Visit to Europe WA1206133290

For reportage on the visit by Nelson Mandela to France, Switzerland, and the Federal Republic of Germany, please see the respective sections in the 12 June West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Angola

UNITA's Savimbi Discusses Decisive Battles

MB1006213090 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Italicized passages in English and as heard]

[Text] After two consecutive military successes in one month by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] against the governing MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] forces, indications are that the government in Luanda is beginning to realize the need for negotiations on the Angolan civil war. Expectations are that talks could soon begin in Portugal. Here is a report by African Television News:

[Begin video recording] [Unidentified correspondent] An MPLA attack on UNITA at Mucundi Caiundo failed after UNITA's successes at Mavinga on 6 and 7 May.

[UNITA President Jonas Savimbi] *The battle of Mucundi Caiundo was also decisive because the aim of the MPLA was to get to the border of Namibia and Angola, in order to get the support of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], because, we have been warning the United States, we have been warning President de Klerk, that it will not be in the advantage of peace in this region if SWAPO gets involved in this battle. But, we have all the facts established, that what MPLA wanted, and are trying to do, is to get to the border between Namibia and Angola and to force the SWAPO's to give them the facilities, to use Namibian territory and attack UNITA from the back. That's why the Mucundi Caiundo battle was very important, because we stopped them to go to the border.*

[Correspondent] Dr. Savimbi says that, after the battles at Mavinga and Mucundi Caiundo, UNITA is now in a better position to negotiate with the MPLA government. He reaffirmed UNITA's serious stand on negotiations by declaring a unilateral cease-fire, which will take effect 22 June.

[Savimbi] *Our Central Committee took a decision that, if the MPLA responds from 22 June, we are prepared to declare a cease-fire in the whole country for three months, so that we give a chance to the talks, because we find it very ironical to meet to talk about peace while you are killing each other.*

[Correspondent] Mavinga was one of the biggest battles in Africa since World War II. General Ben-Ben, UNITA military staff commander, was in control of this battle. Now, a month later, he discussed the battles in detail:

[Ben-Ben] *Their two main objectives of the (?attempt) they would like to gain are, one, they would like to control Mavinga from where they would like to launch a big offensive to Jamba.*

The second one was to control Mavinga and to put UNITA under pressure in order to come to negotiation table with a military (?advantage).

[Correspondent] Gen. Ben-Ben and his staff visited the battle area, where signs of the fighting were still visible.

[Ben-Ben] *As you can see, the terrain is very low, and around the terrain we can see the high point from where we put our observer, which facilitate our observer, our artillery men to shoot on top, and you can see here a lot of wreckage of trucks and armored cars. During the night one day, we succeed to surround this position, and every day we were weakening the enemy.*

[Correspondent] The area from where UNITA planned the offensive can be seen a few kilometers from the battlefield.

Vehicles and equipment plundered during the Mavinga offensive are being repaired by technical personnel at one of UNITA's chief logistical centers. These vehicles and equipment will then be used by UNITA forces.

Although the price of war is in many respects very high for UNITA, Dr. Savimbi believes Angola will one day be a united country with a democratic government:

[Savimbi] *If we are fighting the war, it's only because we are forced to. The MPLA did not leave us with any alternative, but it's not because we think that the military solution is the one that we want. Even if it takes two years, three years, four years, we are going to continue with our diplomatic track so that elections will decide, finally, two things: to give a chance to our people to express their own views about the system and about the leaders of this country; secondly, it is the only way to bring a real, a genuine reconciliation in this country, if, the people, they have a chance to give their own contribution.* [end recording]

Madagascar

* Attempted Coup, Effects of Glasnost Discussed

34000677 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
16 May 90 p 13

[Excerpts] This week's attempted coup in Madagascar seems to have been a direct result of the arrival of perestroika and glasnost around the once stalwartly Marxist archipelago.

That the coup was put down so swiftly by troops loyal to President Didier Ratsiraka suggests that the timing was premature, to say the least, and that the instigators were not able to draw from the well of public resentment which the recent relaxation of information curbs has exposed.

The next attempt, however, may be different. [passage omitted]

Change has come to Madagascar since President Ratsiraka agreed to adopt a free market policy to assuage a public whose purchasing power has dropped by 60 percent in the 15 years of his reign.

That decision was prompted by pressure from the World Bank, to which the president went in 1988 for loans to prop up one of the most meagre economies in Africa.

Mooted reforms are wide, it has even been suggested that SA [South African] Airways be allowed in.

Unhappily, at home, structured change is widely judged to be happening too fast. The move to privatise formerly nationalised industries has led to many dismissals.

With the government's announcement that land will be designated for "free zones," land prices have risen 10 times on the main island of Madagascar, raising public fears of eviction. In the main port of Tamatave, even the cemeteries have been moved.

Thousands of Malagasy workers, in fear of their jobs, have fled to Mauritius.

The privatisation of state companies must eventually evoke a reaction from leaders of the army, since many of them had been chosen to head these companies.

Another dramatic effect of President Ratsiraka's glasnost has been the setting up of new parties and unions. Until March, political parties were banned unless they were satellites of the Ratsiraka authority.

Soon, almost anyone in Madagascar will be able to establish a party.

Sunday's incident was the second seizure of the Radio Madagascar station within a year by opponents of the president.

Last July, six armed men took over and claimed the government had been toppled. However, the army recaptured the station without violence.

Now, the lid has been taken off the pressure cooker. What remains to be seen is how the government will be able to cope with the changes it has set in motion.

Mozambique

Government, Renamo To Begin Malawi Talks 12 Jun

*MB1106164590 London BBC World Service in English
1625 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] After much speculation and a series of false alarms, it now looks as though direct talks may be about to take place between Mozambique's Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels. Last year there were low-key preparatory talks in Nairobi. Since then, the major sticking point seems to have been the venue. But the Mozambican authorities seem to think that has been overcome as Dan Moiane reports from Maputo:

[Moiane] A communique from President Chissano's office in Maputo broadcast this evening said direct talks between the Mozambican Government and Renamo rebel leaders will begin tomorrow in Malawi to try to end

the 14-year-old war which has wrecked Mozambique's social fabric and the economy.

The communique said the date of the start of the talks was given to the Mozambican Government by the Government of Malawi. The Mozambican delegation will be led by Armando Guebuza, a member of the Politburo of the ruling Frelimo Party and minister of transport and communications. Mr. Guebuza left for Malawi today to join an advanced party of Mozambican officials who have been there since Saturday [9 June].

This breakthrough seems to have come about with the help mainly of the Malawians who, although are not mediators in the Mozambican conflict, have recently been helping secure an end to the war in Mozambique.

The start of direct talks comes a few days after confusion and feud over the venue. Last week Maputo said Renamo had finally accepted Malawi as the venue, but in Lisbon rebel spokesman Manuel Frank denied this. The denial came as a surprise in Maputo because Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama himself was said to have guaranteed President Banda that his rebel group would hold talks in Malawi with the Mozambican Government.

Government Group Leaves for Talks

*MB1106173990 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1733 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Communique issued by the office of the president in Maputo on 11 June—read by announcer]

[Text] In the wake of efforts to achieve peace, direct talks between delegations from the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] are to begin tomorrow, 12 June.

This date was conveyed to the Mozambican Government by the Malawian Government.

An official delegation of the Mozambican Government left for Malawi today to attend the talks. This delegation is led by Transportation and Communications Minister Armando Emilio Guebuza.

An advance team has been in Malawi since 9 June to participate in preparations for the meeting.

[Dated] Maputo, 11 June 1990

Renamo Group Denies Peace Talks Set in Malawi

Spokesman in U.S. Interviewed

*MB1106170690 London BBC World Service in English
1628 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] So, the question is still open: Will the Mozambican Government delegation have anyone to talk to in Malawi? Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] seems hard to pin down and there is even speculation

that they are split. Their spokesman in the United States, Julius Seffu, says they won't be in Malawi. On the line Akwe Amuso asked him why not:

[Begin recording] [Seffu] Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] has a security agreement with Malawi and we do feel that Malawi is not a secure place for us to go and have talks, and we have made it clear to Frelimo government that if really Frelimo government is interested in solving the conflict, let us find a neutral place, a place where they will feel comfortable, we will feel comfortable. Of course, they feel comfortable in Malawi but we are not comfortable in Malawi because of their security pact they have.

[Amuso] Mr. Seffu, there have been suggestions that Renamo itself is split on this issue and that there are actually senior members of Renamo who are fully prepared to go ahead with talks in Malawi. Isn't it actually possible that your organization is quite divided on this issue?

[Seffu] We are not divided at all and I had got to confirm this with the headquarters and they told me clearly that there will be no talks taking place in Malawi. We are willing to have the talks with Frelimo in Nairobi, Kenya or anywhere else as long as it is not going to be in Frontline States, because these states, they work together with Frelimo, and, therefore, we are very uncomfortable. [end recording]

Representative in Portugal Comments

AU1206094790 Paris AFP in English 0922 GMT
12 Jun 90

[Text] Lisbon, June 12 (AFP)—The Mozambique rebel movement Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] on Tuesday denied that it was about to start peace talks with envoys of the Mozambique Government in Malawi.

The Renamo representative in Portugal, Manuel Frank, said there was no truth in the Mozambique's government announcement on Monday that the talks were due to open Tuesday in Malawi.

Mr. Frank said Renamo preferred peace negotiations to take place in Kenya or Portugal because he said Malawi could not provide the necessary guarantees of security and impartiality.

On Monday the Mozambique Government said a delegation led by Transport Minister Armando Guebuza had already left for Malawi.

Trade Minister Tembe Signs U.S. Aid Package

MB0706101890 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1730 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Mozambique and U.S. Governments representatives have signed an accord providing for a grant of \$29 million to our country. The amount will be spent in the importation of 155,000 tons of corn, rice, and wheat

for the trade network. The documents were signed by Trade Minister Daniel Gabriel Tembe and U.S. Ambassador Melissa Wells.

Speaking on the occasion, Daniel Gabriel Tembe highlighted U.S. aid to Mozambique.

[Begin Tembe recording] Understanding the difficult situation in our country, namely in food production the U.S. people have given this food aid to Mozambique. It is not only a question of giving the food aid mentioned in these documents, but also a way of supporting the increase in the country's food production. So, in addition to the grain that has been donated, there are aspects of the accord between the two countries which are designed to create conditions so that our country can produce its own food. [passage omitted] [end recording]

*** Chissano Discusses Negotiation Process**

90AF0174A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
12 May 90 pp 34-35

[Interview with President Joaquim Chissano by "H.M.," in Maputo, date not given]

[Text] During the more than two hours in which Joaquim Chissano met with EXPRESSO in the Palacio da Ponta Vermelha, in Maputo, the image he conveyed was of a man who is experiencing a time of indecision, with doubts about Marxism, about a multiparty system, even about Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. This is apparent when he talks about the Armed Forces and admits that he does not know how to dissociate them from the party, or (in a portion of the interview not reproduced here) when the president says he is interested in learning how judges in Portugal relate to the Justice Ministry and to the government. Nor is he ever clear about a multiparty system. When he says that "the people will choose," he is never willing to define precisely how they will do this.

In Mozambique, the word is that his deepest wish is to leave politics and devote himself to his family.

This is not the opinion of his opponents. According to Renamo sympathizers, Chissano is two-faced. "He was the chief of security for Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front], but he likes to give the appearance of insecurity."

Actor or not, Chissano is facing a profound crisis (in the root sense of the word: a decisive choice) for which he knows the alternatives: either go forward in the direction of democracy or continue to see his country destroyed by a war that appears to be interminable.

[H.M.] You have said you are prepared to negotiate directly with Renamo. What steps have you taken to this end?

[Chissano] We proposed that the meeting be held in Malawi, and we informed Renamo through the mediators: President Mugabe, of Zimbabwe, and President Arap Moi, of Kenya. Later we learned, through the press,

that Renamo wants to hold the negotiations in Kenya. Well, Kenya is four hours by air from Maputo, which would make speedy consultation difficult. Also, I do not see why Mr. Dhlakama rejects Malawi, particularly since he issues statements to the press in that country and enters Mozambican territory by way of Malawi.

Moreover, Malawi's President Banda is willing to be the host. He has an independent position, favorable to reconciliation. The two mediators have also accepted Malawi.

[H.M.] This process seems a bit strange. The two mediators are, to a certain extent, involved in the conflict. Arap may have been supporting Dhlakama and Mugabe has sent troops to Mozambique to fight against Renamo. Wouldn't it be preferable to have more unbiased mediators?

[Chissano] We have not yet reached a point where we would demand that the mediators be replaced. I recognize that there is friction and mistrust on both sides, but this means the mediators balance each other out.

[H.M.] Meanwhile, there have been already contacts between the government and Renamo through channels that bypassed the mediators—when the bishops met with Dhlakama.

[Chissano] This is a misunderstanding. The bishops were not acting as mediators; they entered the process after they asked me if we would think it was an offense to Mozambique if they met with Dhlakama to ask that Renamo stop the massacres. I said that this would be an excellent idea.

The Protestants took the initiative and the Catholics joined in the proposal. The bishops went to Nairobi to plead for an end to the massacres. When they left here, we had already decided on the principles that, in our view, should govern the dialogue, and we conveyed these points to them.

It was Renamo that turned the bishops into mediators or messengers. The bishops only wanted to exercise their pastoral influence.

'I Never Spoke With Dhlakama'

[H.M.] But there are many other people talking with Renamo and with your government—Americans, South Africans, English, Portuguese...

[Chissano] They have all joined the parade. All these countries have indicated their concern about what is happening in Mozambique. I have not given them any role as mediators, although I have always accepted their contacts with Renamo. It must not be thought that we are bringing in more and more mediators.

[H.M.] Do you think these countries might have a negative effect?

[Chissano] For example, the Americans contacted Renamo and presented it with seven points for the negotiations. After a little reluctance, six of the points

were accepted. I think this was positive. Because I agreed with all the points drawn up by the United States.

But I was not the one who asked the Americans to speak with Renamo. That was entirely the Americans' initiative.

[H.M.] What role could Portugal play?

[Chissano] If Portugal contacts Renamo, this could be very positive, since Portugal has excellent relations with our government.

My decision to enter into direct dialogue with Renamo is also linked to a long conversation that I had with your prime minister, here in Maputo—as, incidentally, I have had conversations with other Portuguese individuals. Obviously, other countries have also had an influence.

[H.M.] If the Mozambican Government accuses Renamo of being simply bandits and denies it the status of the opposition or of a political party, what are you going to discuss with it?

[Chissano] For us, the most difficult problem is to find out what Renamo is, in political terms, and who its members are. In other countries, when a war starts, it is because there is a division between the parties involved—after discussions have reached an impasse and there are irreconcilable differences—and each side knows the other side.

In Mozambique, we do not know who Dhlakama is, or if he was a Frelimo member, or how he behaves. We are only now learning who he is.

[H.M.] You have never spoken with Dhlakama?

[Chissano] It is possible, among the thousands of soldiers, that I have seen him, or even spoken with him. But I have never discussed anything with him.

[H.M.] But you accuse them of being bandits.

[Chissano] It is a fact that our people and our leaders call them bandits, because of the acts of banditry that they commit—the killing, the destruction, the attacks that we have been experiencing since 1976. In short, they behave like bandits.

[H.M.] Dhlakama told me that during the time of Samora [Machel], there was no talk of massacres—only after you became president.

[Chissano] You need only go to the United Nations and look up the speeches that we have made since 1976. Or go to the OAU [Organization of African Unity]. Remember Chimoio; ask the ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] what went on there in the refugee camps.

[H.M.] But if you accuse them of committing massacres, of being bandits, how can you negotiate with them?

[Chissano] If we want to solve the problem, we must leave the massacres out of it. This does not have to be our agenda. If they are not responsible, great. We will find out who is.

We want an end to the violence. We want peace. We are not going to the negotiating table to settle accounts.

The agenda will focus on determining how all the Mozambican people may participate in the political, economic and social life of our country.

'People Will Choose'

[H.M.] So you are prepared to share the power with Renamo. How do you see this sharing? Would you integrate Renamo with Frelimo or legalize Renamo?

[Chissano] I am not the one to settle this problem. It is up to the people. We are preparing for elections in 1991. The people will choose. If Renamo receives a two-thirds majority, it would not only assume power, it would govern at will.

[H.M.] Do you mean there will be a multiparty system in 1991?

[Chissano] This is a very important point. The people will have to discuss this. We are inviting everyone to take part in this discussion. I am prepared to abide by the popular verdict.

[H.M.] What is your personal opinion?

[Chissano] As president of the republic, president of the government and president of the Frelimo Party, I am quite accustomed to presiding. And to me, to preside means to listen to all the opinions and to come to a decision that reflects the sense of the meeting. I pose a question that requires an answer. And when I receive the answer, I will proclaim it.

[H.M.] Even if it is contrary to your opinion?

[Chissano] Yes. This is my understanding of democracy.

[H.M.] You admit, then, that by next year there could be more than one candidate representing more than one current of opinion?

[Chissano] Precisely.

[H.M.] Even without a multiparty system?

[Chissano] Even in that case.

[H.M.] Renamo says it controls all the territory except for the big cities...

[Chissano] That is not so. You will find our officials and the peasants in all small areas throughout the country meeting their obligations to the state.

The military situation has improved considerably. We have greater freedom of movement, and some economic programs that were at a standstill have been reactivated.

Some infrastructures are being rebuilt. We have had great successes. We hope that things will continue this way.

[H.M.] Are you going to reorganize the Armed Forces?

[Chissano] Yes. This is a process that takes time. We want to reduce our Armed Forces as much as possible and make them more efficient, both in terms of combat and administration. It is a lengthy process, because we need cadres.

Our army must be prepared to defend our sovereignty, because destabilization is a temporary problem, which will pass. [sentence as published]

[H.M.] Will the Armed Forces be dissociated from the party?

[Chissano] If there is to be more than one party, we have to avoid party affiliations in the army—although I do not know how this is done.

[H.M.] There would no longer be a chain of command from the party to the army?

[Chissano] No, this will end, even if there is only one party. This is one of the proposals in our draft Constitution. We will have a national army and it will be commanded by the government—whatever that government is or whoever the president may be.

But this does not mean that what we were doing was wrong, because our Armed Forces are a continuation of the National Liberation Front that fought for independence.

'Still Building a Nation'

[H.M.] In January, the United States removed Mozambique from the list of Marxist countries. Has Frelimo abandoned Marxism? What is your party's position with regard to Marxism?

[Chissano] We analyzed the policies that we were pursuing and we modified several methods of action.

We came to the conclusion that this fable of Marxism was creating problems for us, because, in reality, we were not applying Marxist-Leninist theories in our country as they are understood in the outside world.

Deeper analysis showed us that it was impossible to apply Marxism to our country. Mozambique has much illiteracy, extreme poverty, a rudimentary political culture, a worker class that is not at all significant, and that has no class consciousness....

Nor was it possible to make a "great leap forward" in the manner of the Chinese. Even by African standards, we are backward. We have more illiteracy. Remember that Frelimo was born only in 1962 and the liberation movement in 1960.

All this is relevant to the issue of a single party or multiparty system. We are still building a nation, consolidating it...

[H.M.] The fact is that socialism in East [Europe] appears to have failed. Does what is happening there have anything to do with the changes here?

[Chissano] It might even have negative repercussions. In the past, many people argued that we ought to copy what was done in the USSR or in China; today, there are people who point to the changes in Eastern Europe as the example of what we ought to be doing here. I do not think we should copy the East or the West.

[H.M.] Is there less investment by Eastern Europe in Mozambique?

[Chissano] There is no sign of this where the USSR is concerned. Since "perestroyka," the USSR has been doing something positive, which is cooperation in the form of associations, both with our government and with third parties, which was not happening before. This is making it easier to go ahead with projects.

As for the GDR, I cannot make any judgment. They are setting their own house in order. Incidentally, cooperation with the GDR began to fall off some time ago, since they had agricultural projects here that were not going forward because of the destabilization.

[H.M.] Aren't you afraid that the rush to invest in Eastern Europe will be detrimental to cooperation with African countries?

[Chissano] This question is being discussed in Third World countries. But if military expenditures are reduced, we could hope that there would be more funds available for Africa.

Moreover, if the [financiers] receive a good return on investments in the East European countries, it is possible that they will have more money to invest here.

[H.M.] You are not pessimistic?

[Chissano] No, we just have to study the matter and see how all the issues are related. If, in 1992, Europe becomes much larger than it is today, perhaps we will have a new entity with which we can relate as a bloc. North-South relations would probably become clearer.

'One Rooster'

[H.M.] Why are there almost no experiments with democracy in Africa?

[Chissano] One of the fears about a multiparty system is that it leads to a scattering of forces. These forces are needed to build a nation and for its development, and should not be wasted on power struggles.

Obviously, there are advantages to a multiparty system, but I would point out this disadvantage for the poor countries.

[H.M.] But if there were more parties, more citizens would be engaged in finding solutions and there would be a stronger political culture—as long as the parties are

in agreement on the fundamental questions of the regime, such as democracy, human rights, and so on.

[Chissano] Listen to this example. I went to talk to the people in some remote locale, like Gile. I talked about the Constitution. I urged the people to discuss it. But I don't think they had a very good idea of what a Constitution is. A diplomat who was there said precisely the same thing to me, but I answered that I could not deny anyone the right to know about the laws of his own country.

Then this diplomat said: "In my country, it is the citizens who demand their rights, and in this country the government is going around explaining to them that they have rights."

In Portugal, political education has reached a level where people know the difference between the socialists, the social democrats, and the communists. Here, we have to explain what a nation is, what national unity means, why tribalism is bad, and so on. Parties in Europe function differently.

Also remember that in Portugal, for example, the parties were either underground or in a latent state. There is nothing of the kind here.

[H.M.] Are you saying that the people here are not speaking out in favor of a multiparty system?

[Chissano] Precisely. The people are not discussing these issues yet. They are only discussed within Frelimo itself and, even then, only among the leaders and the intellectuals. In the interior of the country, if you talk about having several parties, the people think of Renamo. And many of them will say they do not want it. I have been insisting that they should think about a multiparty system, without associating it with Renamo. Otherwise, they reject the idea, because they say Renamo kills people.

[H.M.] This has to do with the tradition...

[Chissano] Well, there is a saying here that there is only one rooster in a hen house. We have certainly tried to come up with a suitable, convincing argument [for a multiparty system]. But it could come out the way it did in Zimbabwe—two million votes to 400,000. A multiparty system for what? Just to say you have one?

We do not intend to move too fast; we want a very solid foundation.

[Chissano] I think you once said that it would require five years to evaluate this question [of a multiparty system].

[Chissano] I said that we would have elections in 1991. What I can say is that this Constitution will be adopted in the middle of this year and that there will be elections in 1991. I think we should wait five years before we meddle with the Constitution again.

* Dhlakama Discusses Renamo, Negotiations

90AF0175A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
12 May 90 pp 38-39, 40

[Interview with Renamo chief Afonso Dhlakama, by H.M., at an unspecified location in Mozambique, date not given]

[Text] At first sight, he is a timid and tense man. During the first four hours of conversation, he made almost no gestures and showed no animation. From his appearance (short, with a protruding belly, exaggerated by his 37 years), it seems almost unbelievable that this man is a former member of Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] who rebelled "against Marxism" and initiated one of the most violent and inhumane guerrillas wars in Africa. It is even less credible that this man is responsible for the countless massacres attributed to his movement, Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

On the second day we met, when this interview was conducted, Dhlakama was less constrained. He was more talkative and laughed a lot at some of the incidents that he recounted. He even dressed in his commander's uniform, later asking us not to take any full-length photographs of him because he had forgotten to wear his boots. He offered us orangeade and Coca Cola and confessed that his movement was almost broke.

Regarding the basic points of the interview, he was adamant; he denied all the accusations that are being made against him regarding the cruelty and savagery of his movement.

Essentially, Afonso Dhlakama feels he is isolated from the world. He said that all the reports about the massacres in Mozambique were written without anyone speaking with him or with his movement. He feels isolated and says he can trust almost no one. He is a man alone against the "Marxism" of Frelimo, which even the North Americans no longer believe is Marxist. In addition to his ideology, which is not always clear, and his objectives, not always linear, one perceives a lack of sophistication in what he says, and his political background is weak.

And yet, in his words, what comes through is a peasant honesty and a romanticism that must make him feel happy in the role of "a man alone against the world." He may very well be a fanatic.

He admits to the support from Rhodesia, in a first phase, and from South Africa, albeit only before the N'Komati accords. But he does so without claiming grand strategic justifications, unlike Jonas Savimbi, his brother rebel in Angola, for whom, incidentally, he does not appear to have any great sympathy (nor does Savimbi for him), although the two men have never met.

His life is in the jungle, in Gorongosa, in a "hut" without running water, surrounded by guerrillas and peasants who do not even have clothes—only flour sacks and tree leaves. At least this is what he says, since our meeting was held on the Mozambican border with a neighboring

country which, "for security reasons," he asked me not to identify. When I proposed to accompany him to the seat of his movement, he made a gracious excuse and said to wait for another time.

Sin To Lie

[H.M.] Where were you born?

[Dhlakama] In Chibabava, Sofala Province, on 1 January 1953.

[H.M.] Where did you go to school?

[Dhlakama] At a Catholic mission in the same area. The mission of St. Francis de Assis. I completed the fourth grade there. Then the fathers sent me to the seminary at Boroma, which was known as Zobue in colonial times, where I finished the second year of the preparatory cycle. But my parents did not want me to be a priest, so next I attended the Industrial and Commercial School of Beira, where I completed the fifth year. I had no formal schooling after that. I have taken other courses.

[H.M.] Are you married?

[Dhlakama] Yes, in the Catholic Church. I have three children.

[H.M.] Are there churches in the zones under your control?

[Dhlakama] Yes. Catholic, Protestant...

[H.M.] Do you attend mass every Sunday?

[Dhlakama] I cannot lie; it is a sin. But I go whenever I can. It is just that there are some Sundays when the war interferes. Even when I don't go, I pray by myself. I say the rosary wherever I am.

[H.M.] Do you consider yourself a practicing Catholic?

[Dhlakama] Certainly. I am 100-percent Catholic, baptized and confirmed.

[H.M.] You have said that your movement, Renamo, is implanted throughout the country and that the Maputo Government can maintain control only in the cities. What kind of organization do you have in the areas you control?

[Dhlakama] I will say that we have territory under our control in the interior of Mozambique and that Frelimo is virtually confined to the big cities. In the zones under our control, we have a civil administration. We have an administrator in each district who works together with the people; we have liberated zones in all the provinces.

We have built schools, hospitals, and large "machambas" (farms), so we are not experiencing the problem of famine, which they have in Frelimo territory.

[H.M.] Do you have a kind of government, then?

[Dhlakama] Certainly, although it is not internationally recognized.

[H.M.] Can people speak out against Renamo?

[Dhlakama] Yes, they are free and this is why there is no famine. The people live in their native areas and they plant banana trees and manioc. They grow papayas. They live together with their families—which is not the case in the Frelimo zones. In our zones, no one needs a travel permit. They can go from one district to another.

[H.M.] If Renamo controls most of the territory, what is preventing it from winning the war?

[Dhlakama] Winning the war is another matter. You see, we are not waging a conventional war, but a guerrilla war. If we control zones, it means that we have driven out the enemy, which has taken refuge in the big cities. We could attack Maputo, or another city, but our objective is a political objective.

[H.M.] How many armed men does Renamo have?

[Dhlakama] We have 25,000, plus some men in training.

[H.M.] What is Renamo's principal source of weapons?

[Dhlakama] Captured.

[H.M.] Only captured weapons?

[Dhlakama] Certainly. I am not here to make propaganda. This is something that many observers can confirm; many of the weapons supplied to Frelimo are now in our possession. We have even captured a large quantity of weapons from Zimbabwe.

[H.M.] Do you use combat vehicles?

[Dhlakama] We have them, but we don't use them. We have captured several tanks, but we have little fuel and little money.

[H.M.] Is some country supplying your ground-air missiles?

[Dhlakama] They are captured. Frelimo itself has supplied them. We have a number of Sam-7 missiles.

[H.M.] The zone in which your guerrillas operate is surrounded by countries that are hostile to you: Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and so on.

[Dhlakama] Yes, and we have had problems. All those countries are fighting against Renamo. You see, our capital is in the heart of Mozambique, in Sofala, between the North and the South, but we are fighting all over the territory, whether it is near the border with South Africa, or the Zimbabwean border, or the border with Malawi, with Zambia, with Tanzania...

[H.M.] None of these countries supports Renamo?

[Dhlakama] We receive no support from these countries.

[H.M.] And South Africa?

[Dhlakama] Yes sir, it supported us in the past—I will not hide the fact. It supplied weapons to Renamo.

[H.M.] Even after the N'Komati accords?

[Dhlakama] That support ended at the time of the N'Komati accord.

[H.M.] You have never received any weapons after then?

[Dhlakama] No!

[H.M.] Never?

[Dhlakama] Never, despite the accusations that have been made.

[H.M.] Have you received support from any other African country?

[Dhlakama] Well, Africa is a big place. There could be countries, both in Africa and in Europe, which are lending a hand to Renamo. But not in terms of weapons.

Frelimo Massacres

[H.M.] Renamo is accused of being a terrorist group that commits massacres among the people. It is said that Renamo uses unconventional methods of warfare—that it mistreats and tortures prisoners, that it cuts off their arms and legs. Some say this is a common practice in the zones where Renamo is established.

[Dhlakama] It is not true. If it were, we would have disappeared already, because we depend on the support of the people for our survival.

I have personally challenged the president of Frelimo to name a neutral commission, or a commission including UN representatives, to investigate these massacres. But he refused. Frelimo knows it is not Renamo that is committing these massacres.

[H.M.] So who is it, then?

[Dhlakama] Frelimo itself, and also the Zimbabwean troops. If we were doing it, how would we be growing? How would we survive in the jungle if the people were against us? Our strategy is based on support from the population, as is customary in guerrilla wars.

Note also that when Samora Machel was alive there was no talk of massacres. It only began with Chissano.

[H.M.] What are you trying to say?

[Dhlakama] That there were no massacres then, or any talk of massacres. Samora dies, Chissano comes in, and the killing starts.

[H.M.] So there are massacres...

[Dhlakama] Clearly so.

[H.M.] Are they Renamo's doing?

[Dhlakama] No! They are perpetrated by Frelimo and they commenced with President Chissano. We initiated the armed struggle in 1977. There was never any talk of massacres until 1987. Well, if we were massacring people, it would not be after we were implanted, after 10 years of war. This all began with Joaquim Chissano, in an attempt to drive popular support away from Renamo.

[H.M.] You are accused of mistreating prisoners and of capturing Portuguese.

[Dhlakama] Mozambique is very big. Many foreigners are caught in ambushes when they travel in convoys with Frelimo troops. When we open fire, Frelimo abandons the foreigners. And for their own protection, whether they are American, French or Portuguese, we take them to Gorongosa.

[H.M.] And then it is a long time before they are released.

[Dhlakama] Because the International Committee of the Red Cross or the countries themselves have difficulty getting in contact with us. But we have never planned to capture foreigners in our operations.

[H.M.] Do you admit that some of your men could be committing murders or mistreating prisoners, even without your knowledge?

[H.M.] No! We are organized. All our activities are controlled by the General Staff. Everything is well planned, with times and dates. We have radios and can make contact with the whole country from Gorongosa.

[H.M.] What would you do if a subordinate of yours massacred people?

[Dhlakama] He would be punished. If a commander massacres people, he is playing the role of the enemy.

'Frelimo Executes More people Than the PIDE'

[H.M.] Renamo only appeared after Mozambique became independent. It has no legitimacy based on the anticolonial struggle, like UNITA [Union for the Total Independence of Angola], for example.

[Dhlakama] These are allegations. Legitimacy has nothing to do with being younger or older.

Legitimacy has to do with objectives, if those objectives have to do with the people. Renamo is legitimate.

It is a fact that we emerged after independence. But I and others of my comrades in Renamo fought for independence, together with Frelimo. We were members of Frelimo. I was a Frelimo commander.

[H.M.] When you joined Frelimo in 1972, did you consider yourself a Marxist?

[Dhlakama] No, I was not a Marxist.

[H.M.] But Frelimo was already Marxist.

[Dhlakama] Yes sir, but we were motivated by the struggle against colonialism. We were not looking at these political aspects. This happens in many countries.

[H.M.] You do not regret having joined the Frelimo?

[Dhlakama] Frelimo became Marxist following the death of the first president, Eduardo Mondlane, in 1969. In 1972, when I joined, at the age of 19, it was already Marxist. I also read those books filled with slogans, but my only objective, just like the others, was simply to put an end to colonialism. We thought that once we were independent, we could have several parties.

[H.M.] But do you regret having fought on the side of Frelimo?

[Dhlakama] I do not regret it, because I had a duty to help win independence.

[H.M.] Do you think independence has been a good thing for Mozambique?

[Dhlakama] Well, Mozambique had to be independent. The problem is that, after independence, Marxism came in, which is worse than what we had in the colonial times.

[H.M.] You think the situation is worse now than it was under colonial rule?

[Dhlakama] I think so. In colonial times, people were also killed. The PIDE/DGS [International Police for Defense of the State/General Directorate of Security] was in existence. The blacks were serving the whites, and so on. But Frelimo has made more mistakes; it has executed more people than the Portuguese colonial rule. Note that, after independence, concentration camps were built in all the provinces, where thousands of children and old people were confined and killed. No one knows how many people died.

[H.M.] How many men on your General Staff were Frelimo members?

[Dhlakama] Several. [Some were] commanders and [some were] even linked with the political structure.

[H.M.] You accuse President Chissano's government of being Marxist-Leninist. How do you support this contention when the United States itself removed Mozambique from the list of Marxist countries last January?

[Dhlakama] The interests of the superpowers are one thing and it is another thing to consider the interests of the Mozambican people.

Frelimo is still 100-percent Marxist. They eliminated the slogans, but the people are still under Marxist rule. The Frelimo holds power solely by force of arms. The people continue to live in communal villages, like goats in pens, and they are forced to move from one locale to another according to Frelimo's wishes. They are not even free to choose where they will live.

If the United States removed Mozambique from the list of Marxist countries, it is a meaningless act. It appears that they want to maintain Frelimo regime and to enslave the black people of Mozambique. The United States makes demands on Angola that it does not make on Mozambique.

[H.M.] But don't you think President Chissano has been moving from Marxist positions to non-Marxist positions? Do you think nothing has changed in the Mozambican Government?

[Dhlakama] We are waging a war for changes. There have been some changes—there is no denying it. But the point is that no one must forget that the changes are the result of our struggle.

If Chissano grants religious freedom, if he permits investment, he is doing what we have been advocating since 1977 and what he himself was rejecting. If you praise him, you should have even more praise for Renamo, which accepted sacrifices to bring about the changes. The issue here is that there must be negotiations to ensure that these and other changes are guaranteed in laws.

[H.M.] If President Chissano approves a democratic constitution, with free elections, would Renamo lay down its arms?

[Dhlakama] This is what we want! The armed struggle was imposed by Frelimo. Following independence, we tried to advise our brothers in the government. We told them that the people did not want this or that, but they responded with violence. The purpose of the armed struggle is to force them to negotiate with us.

If Joaquim Chissano is going to adopt a constitution that unites us, that opens the doors so that the Mozambican people can debate freely as citizens, that establishes democracy and freedom in our country, then certainly there will be a dialogue between Renamo and Frelimo.

[H.M.] And the armed struggle would end?

[Dhlakama] Certainly.

[H.M.] Have there already been contacts between Renamo and Frelimo?

Dhlakama] No, never.

[H.M.] Have you set prior conditions for negotiations?

[Dhlakama] Rebani is not setting any conditions.

[H.M.] You are prepared to start tomorrow?

[Dhlakama] Even today, if anyone could persuade my brothers in Frelimo. In any country—Portugal, Kenya, wherever they want to meet.

[H.M.] From your standpoint, what are the goals of these negotiations?

[Dhlakama] In the first place, we would discuss an end to the war, national reconciliation among the Mozambicans. Then we should reach an understanding regarding a multiparty system and free elections for the Assembly (the existing Assembly consists almost solely of agents of the SNASP [People's National Security Service]—the political police). We also want to discuss the problem of the Armed Forces, because the FPLM [People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique] is constituted by Frelimo members and the Mozambican Army should not be partisan.

Active Role for Portugal

[H.M.] Do you see any African country as your political model?

[Dhlakama] We Africans have a flaw. In many cases, the Europeans do not believe that blacks can have a multiparty system. Almost all the countries in Africa have a single party system, although in some countries, such as Kenya, the people can have an influence, they can speak freely. But this is not the model that I want for Mozambique.

[H.M.] Do you think Portugal could be a model?

[Dhlakama] I want a Mozambican model. I want the citizen to be able to say: I want this party; I am going to vote for it.

[H.M.] How can the people believe this? In Zimbabwe, President Mugabe also accepted a multiparty system and now he defends a single party system.

[Dhlakama] It is not a matter of Afonso Dhlakama giving guarantees. It is a matter of knowing that there are developments all over the world. Things are evolving. If President Mugabe has changed his mind, that is Zimbabwe's problem. And in Zimbabwe, there is tribalism between Xhonas and Matabeles, which does not exist here.

The Mozambicans are a peaceful, uncomplicated people. With democracy, things will go well. If someone later wanted to go back to a single party system, it would be war.

[H.M.] What role do you think Portugal should play in the peace process?

[Dhlakama] Portugal should be one of the most active countries. I do not say it should be the mediator—being involved does not mean having to be the mediator. But it should try to work with the two parties, to persuade the two forces to arrive at a just solution. Portugal knows Mozambique better than the British or Americans do; it has historical ties that no one can deny. We speak the same language; there are many marks of the Portuguese presence in this country.

If a Portuguese says to the world that there must be peace in Mozambique, that Dhlakama should sit down with his brother Chissano, it has more importance than it would if an American were speaking.

In short, I would say that Portugal should become engaged in the peace process.

[H.M.] Have you had already some contact with the Portuguese authorities?

[Dhlakama] I have, but indirectly. Individuals who visit me and pass things on to the Portuguese Government.

[H.M.] When you leave Mozambique, how do you do it? Do you leave secretly?

[Dhlakama] All the neighboring countries have troops in Mozambique, fighting against the Renamo...

[H.M.] Including Malawi?

[Dhlakama] Yes, in the Nacala corridor. But I leave. I cannot tell you how, for reasons of security.

[H.M.] How do you travel around Mozambique?

[Dhlakama] At will.

[H.M.] By car?

[Dhlakama] By motorcycle, by car, on foot...

[H.M.] By motorcycle?

[Dhlakama] Yes, because we have problems getting gasoline.

* Questions on New Constitution Answered

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[Excerpt] 10 Principal Points in the draft Constitution

1. The Sovereignty of the People

The draft revision of the Constitution to be submitted for the people's discussion now expressly stipulates one of the fundamental principles of democracy: the principle that sovereignty resides in the people.

It is the stipulation of a reality that we are already experiencing in our country, inspired by the experience of the liberated zones during the national liberation struggle.

The sovereignty of the people is expressed in various concrete ways:

- when the people select their representatives for the State organs, electing the deputies of all the people's assemblies;
- when the people participate in the debate on the principal issues of national life, discussing the country's principal laws;
- when all citizens have an opportunity to voice their opinion, submitting their concerns, their aspirations, their contributions, and their proposals.

All these forms of exercising sovereignty are now a reality in our country, and this principle will be clearly stipulated in our new Constitution.

And the Constitution will add a new essence to it. It proposes that, in the future, the sovereignty of the people is to be expanded and intensified further still.

Sovereignty will be manifested immediately, through the people's opportunity to select their representatives in political power directly.

The people will elect the deputies of the People's Assembly and the President of the Republic with complete freedom and directly.

It is also intended to institutionalize another important form of the exercise of sovereignty, namely, the referendum.

What Is the Referendum?

The referendum is the consultation made of the people on matters of major national importance, enabling the citizens to express their opinion.

The Party and the Government have already been involving all the Mozambican people in the discussion of important issues and important laws at various times in our life. But now we want to stipulate that practice as a constitutional principle, so as to lend it more force, and so that it will have a material expression and legal value.

Special mention should be made here of the question of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party's role in the nation's political life.

The text in effect since independence stipulates the role of the Mozambique Liberation Front, subsequently the FRELIMO Party, in the process of forming the Mozambican State. FRELIMO expressed the Mozambican people's desire to be liberated, organized Mozambican citizens for the independence struggle and brought that struggle to an end with the proclamation of national independence. FRELIMO was more than an organization or a party: it was the expression, the embodiment of the national sentiment. It was the spokesman for the sentiments of the Mozambican people, who until then had been deprived of free expression.

For this reason, it was FRELIMO which, in the name of Mozambique, negotiated the accords leading to independence; it was FRELIMO which adopted the Constitution that would govern the Mozambican State at the time of its birth; and it was FRELIMO which, through the voice of its President, proclaimed national independence.

The State established then has developed and created its own institutions. Those institutions have become the institutions of all the citizens, who participate in them, elect them, and determine their policy.

Thus, we can consider that FRELIMO's role in the creation of the State has been fulfilled in essence. For this reason, the present draft establishes FRELIMO's role in the history of Mozambique, but removes the juridical and constitutional reference to the FRELIMO Party's leading role.

This removal is not equivalent to the FRELIMO Party's relinquishment of a leading role. All the parties exist, are established, and strive to affirm a leading role in the society.

Experience has shown that the party's leading role must be constantly won, and not achieved merely because it is stipulated in the Constitution.

Concurrently, all references imposing conditions on the State's function in the leadership of the party organs have been removed.

Does this mean that it will cease to have a political life as part of its constitutional life?

Certainly not. The Constitution is the legal regulator of political phenomena. Through its deputies, through its members placed in various positions, and through the positions that it wins in electoral processes, the Party will play its political role in the society. What is eliminated is the State's legal imposition of conditions on the Party's decisions.

The State's policy also depends on the action and influence of the social organizations, which promote the citizens' participation in the country's public life. There too, the role of the social organizations depends on their real influence on the society, their prestige, and their capacity for expressing the sentiments and promoting the participation of the citizens in their activities.

2. Democracy

In the very first article of our Constitution we declare that our State is a democratic State.

This was an option that we, in FRELIMO, have taken since the time of our national liberation struggle, that we have succeeded in achieving in the liberated zones, and that we have extended to our entire country, from Rovuma to Maputo. Democracy means government by the people, power in the hands of the people. It is a very simple meaning insofar as words are concerned. But when political life and practice are involved it is ultimately assumed and expressed in ways that vary, depending on the historical times in which one is living, depending on the reality of each country, and depending on its stage of political, economic, social, and cultural development.

Democracy in our country has been achieved through the citizens' direct participation in the people's assemblies, comprised of elected deputies.

Democracy has a popular essence, in keeping with the objective that we have devised: that of giving all our people the opportunity to participate permanently in directing the nation's destiny.

This proposed Constitution expands the practice of the exercise of democracy.

An important role in the exercise of democracy will continue to be incumbent on the people's assemblies, organs elected by the citizens.

Along with them, the social organizations will also play a leading role, because the Constitution declares that they are to promote the participation of all in public life.

3. Social Justice

The draft revision of the Constitution defines our State as a State of social justice.

It has been our concern, in both the Party and the State, to achieve a policy that will benefit all our people. The people are the *raison d'être* of our entire struggle, and are always present in our concerns, when we exercise authority in their name. The State, which is the principal instrument of power, must have the people as a principal object of its attention. We want the State, in its action, to take into account the situation of the most underprivileged strata of our people, and not to leave them unprotected.

The stage of development that we are undergoing is typified by enormous needs and difficulties, the solution to which will take us years to attain. A State of social justice must create conditions for solving the fundamental problems of the majority of its citizens.

Through various articles in the draft, an attempt is made to protect the interests of the majority of the people with regard to:

- literacy and education;
- health and health care;
- work and social security.

The State of social justice that we seek is the one in which the participation of the citizens and the participation of the state in the execution of the principal tasks involved in development, progress, and the creation of both individual and collective materials and spiritual welfare, can be combined harmoniously.

A State of social justice is a State in which there is equal opportunity for all citizens. It is a State that must play a fundamental role in the creation of conditions for the solution of the essential problems and necessities of the majority of citizens. But it is, primarily, a State that gives its citizens the guarantee that the principal national resources will be used to serve the interests of the entire community.

4. The Objectives of the State

The draft revision of the Constitution defines the fundamental objectives of the State.

They are:

- a) The defense of independence and sovereignty;

Political independence, territorial integrity, and the capacity for making our own decisions are inestimable assets that we have won at the cost of great sacrifice, and that we must defend permanently.

- b) The consolidation of national unity;

National unity is created in the course of a process; it is not an easy task, nor an act that has deadlines. National

unity is an essential condition for affirming our Mozambican identity and for consolidating our people's cohesion.

We are on a correct path that must be continued, cementing what unites us and eliminating what contributes to our disunity.

c) The defense of human rights and the equality of citizens before the law;

We are concerned with human rights as rights of the people.

We are now also concerned, with greater emphasis, about the individual rights of the citizens as persons. We want the Constitution to expand those rights, as we shall observe subsequently.

d) The building of a society with social justice and the creation of material welfare, particularly that of the citizens;

e) The reinforcement of democracy, freedom, and stability, both social and individual;

f) The development of the economy and the progress of science and technology;

g) The affirmation of the Mozambican personality and of freely and democratically accepted cultural, social, and traditional values;

h) The establishment and development of friendly and cooperative relations with other peoples and states.

5. State of Law

Our experience in constructing the State has demonstrated the necessity for improving the State institutions and their conformance to the law. This means that the agents of the State, and the other civil servants, have their reference point in the law, and must be subject to the law.

Authority is always exercised within the limits of the law, and presumptuousness and abuse of authority must be prevented and punished through appropriate mechanisms to which the citizens can resort for their protection. For this reason, the control of the legality of administrative acts is a concern for all the citizens, and must not be translated into merely supervisory activities carried out directly or indirectly.

The complaint or appeal on the part of citizens against administrative acts that violate their rights is established.

The development of democracy presupposes the development of the State of Law. It is our objective that everyone respect personal and public freedoms, human rights, or individual freedoms. This is one of the principal foundations of the State of Law.

The present Constitution has now established a series of rights that are important to cite.

They are:

- equality of rights and obligations, and non-discrimination;
- freedom of opinion, assembly, and association;
- the right to elect and to be elected;
- the protection of marriage, family, motherhood, and childhood;
- the obligation to respect the constitutional order;
- religious freedom;
- the right to work, health, and education, among others.

The rights of the citizens have now been expanded, with emphasis on:

- the right to life. This means that the courts will not impose the death penalty. The establishment of this right results from our awareness of the importance of human life. This is already the policy that we have been pursuing during recent years.
- The right to physical integrity, and not to be subjected to torture or to cruel or inhuman treatment, is aimed in the same direction as dignification and respect for the human being.
- The right to honor, good name, reputation, the defense of one's public image, and the confidentiality of one's private life. Protection of honor consists of the citizen's right not to have his dignity offended or injured.
- Equality of men and women before the law, in all realms of political, economic, social, and cultural life, is another right the inclusion of which is proposed in the fundamental law of the State.
- The right of access to the courts for citizens against acts that violate their rights recognized by the Constitution and the law is one of the mainstays of the State of Law, and a guarantee that anyone who feels that his fundamental rights have been injured may have recourse to the judicial organs in order to procure their restoration and reinstatement.
- The right to submit petitions, complaints, and claims to any authority, and to demand the reestablishment of violated rights, is stipulated.
- The right not to obey illegal orders completes this group of rights.

The proposed revision of the Constitution also stipulates the citizen's right to request the impugning of administrative acts that injure his rights, thereby incorporating and expanding upon the experience gained in the development of public office.

Outstanding in the group of rights stipulated by the Constitution is the indemnification that the State must pay for damage caused to citizens by illegal action on the part of its agents.

Concurrently with these rights there are other prominent ones, such as :

- Religious freedom, which includes the freedom of citizens to profess a religion or not, and freedom of religious denominations to pursue their goals and to possess the means necessary for doing so;
- The right to property. The awarding of fair indemnification in cases of property expropriation, stipulating

that such expropriation will be permitted only based on public necessity, utility, or interest, as defined in the law.

- The right to inheritance;
- Work is another important right and obligation of the citizen, associated with freedom of choice for his occupation.

Other rights linked with work and included in the draft Constitution are:

- Right to fair pay, time off, and holidays.
- Hygiene at work and protection against illegal layoffs.
- The Constitution establishes the exercise of trade union rights.
- The right to freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creation is another fundamental right of the citizens. The citizen is guaranteed the right to freedom in creating, innovating, and developing the arts in their various forms of expression. For the protection of inventors, artists, and writers, the protection that the State must give to intellectual property, including copyrights, is established.

The right to strike is also stipulated.

Thus, our Constitution has come to recognize one of the workers' principal instruments in their struggle to defend their legitimate interests. Striking has become a means that the workers may use to defend the rights and privileges that the law confers upon them.

But, as the powerful instrument that it is, striking must not be used against the people nor against the country. Hence, the Constitution also cites the need for preparing a law that will define the procedures for, and the conditions under which the right to strike may be exercised:

- the right to strike may be exercised for the benefit of the workers;
- the right to strike may not be exercised against the people's interests or without heed for the concrete possibilities and conditions that the nation possesses;
- the right to strike may be exercised without precluding the workers' individual rights and freedoms;
- this right may be exercised based on a constructive process to resolve labor disputes;
- the right to strike may be exercised with the workers' full responsibility and with complete knowledge of the possible consequences that the strike may entail;
- strikes may not occur as a clandestine act or without the knowledge of all the parties involved: the workers and managements of the economic and social units;
- strikes may be resorted to only after all means for resolving the existing dispute have been exhausted.

The law will establish restrictions on recourse to strikes for sectors with special responsibilities for the maintenance of sovereignty, public order, and social stability, or sectors whose work stoppage would seriously hurt the general interests of the citizens.

5. Individual Guarantees

A new feature introduced into the draft Constitution is the chapter dedicated especially to the citizens' guarantees.

Guarantees for Citizens in a Penal Process

No one may be held and brought to trial except under the terms of the law. This means that the law must be observed by the authorities, so that the citizens will not be illegally deprived of their freedom.

Presumption of Innocence of the Accused

When a citizen is suspected of having committed a crime, it is incumbent on the police authorities or the so-called Public Ministry, organized by the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic, to investigate thoroughly and gather all the evidence to prove that the citizen actually committed the infraction.

It is not up to the citizen to prove that he is innocent. It is up to the prosecution to prove that the citizen is guilty.

Nonretroactivity of the Penal Law

Also established is the principle that no one may be convicted for an act that was not considered a crime at the time that it was committed. In other words: no law passed today may order the conviction of a citizen for having done something that was not regarded as a crime at the time.

Right to Defense

The right to defense is reaffirmed in the draft, but it is now our desire to guarantee that this right to defense is actually implemented and does not remain as a dead letter. Therefore, we propose that the State assume responsibility for guaranteeing that citizens involved in a criminal process will be technically supported by a jurist, a legal expert, or a defender prepared to defend them properly.

The State must also see to it that citizens are not denied access to justice merely for lack of sufficient financial resources.

Other fundamental guarantees for the penal process are the limitation on cases of preventive imprisonment, the creation of mechanisms for defense against illegal imprisonment by abuse of authority, also called "habeas corpus," and a ban on extradition or expulsion of Mozambican citizens outside the national territory.

Also established in this draft is the fact that the state must guarantee that there is no violation of domicile, correspondence (mail, letters), or private communications (telephone calls, for example) of citizens, unless the law expressly so authorizes.

The Judicial System

A major role in guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens will be played by the organs of the Judicial

System: the courts, the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic, and the organs of criminal investigation.

Insofar as the courts are concerned, the independence of judges and their obedience to the law are not reaffirmed.

The principle is established that a career judge may be removed from his office only under conditions expressly called for in the law, as a means of protecting his independence and his exclusive affiliation with the law.

A new element in the chapter on courts is the specification of various categories of courts in addition to those operating in the realm of civil and criminal jurisdiction.

The draft Constitution calls for the Administrative Court, and military, customs, and fiscal courts.

An important role will be incumbent on the Administrative Court, because it is there that the citizens will have the opportunity to impugn or contest acts of any administrative agency in violation of their rights.

Moreover, tax-paying citizens who pay their taxes regularly will also have the guarantee that the public spending done in the context of executing the State Budget will be overseen by the Administrative Court *per se*.

Concurrently, with regard to the control of legality in general, the draft revision of the Constitution underscores the role of the Office of the Attorney General of the Republic, whose prerogatives in controlling the legality of detentions, directing criminal proceedings, and exercising penal action are now constitutionally affirmed.

6. On the Organization of Economic and Social Life

With regard to the organization of economic life, it is established that the state will guide the country's economic policy in the direction of creating the bases to spur development, to improve the people's living conditions, and to foster a more proper use of the country's natural resources.

The changes proposed are aimed at formulating an economic policy that will more closely approximate our reality, and at changing the dimensions of the State's intervention.

The Constitution attempts to define the major lines and principles for the development of economic activity, avoiding the discussion of detailed matters, the decisions on which depend on the concrete conditions being experienced during each stage.

Insofar as economic policy is concerned, the following fundamental principles are established:

- The state promotes the planning of the national economy, and guarantees that its economic activities will conform to the public interests.
- Where there are already private or community enterprises contributing to the solution of the population's fundamental problems, the State will offer an incentive and support. But there are geographical zones and areas of activity in which little will be accomplished if the State does not intervene. There, the

State must promote its own enterprises.

- The State must guarantee control of the economic sectors critical to the nation's economic sovereignty and to the independence of political authority.
- The importance, not only of the family sector's production, but also, in general, of small-scale production in the national economy is established. This does not mean that only small-scale production is given consideration in our country. Large-sized projects are still important as a lever for development. Hence, the significance of the State's investment is established as a driving force for development.

This chapter also contains a reaffirmation of the cooperative sector's importance, specifying the need for the state to encourage the organization of associative types of production by individual peasants and workers.

The proposed revision of the Constitution establishes property, and defines the role of the different forms of production in the country's development.

The importance of agriculture is reaffirmed, and within this sector stress is placed on the role of the family sector, underscoring rural development in the economic growth strategy.

State property, associative forms of production, and private property are prominently established in the text of the Constitution.

The areas of economic activity belonging in the public domain are defined in the economic organization of the state. For this purpose, it is specified that the strategic sectors of the economy, such as the public domain, are under the control of the State, with a view toward ensuring its mobilizing role in the economy and protecting political authority.

The State's ownership of the basic means of production (land, mineral resources, and other natural resources, minerals, and territorial waters) is reaffirmed. It is stipulated that the natural resources in the subsoil, inland waters, sea, platform, mines, fish, ocean waters, and lakes still belong to the State.

The topic of land has come to be treated in various ways, depending on our practices and the requirements of development.

In 1975 the land was nationalized and, simultaneously, became state property.

Recognition was withdrawn from the rights that large owners had to land, and legal value was denied all previous types of appropriation. This provision had a nationalizing essence. This measure is essential, because it awarded the State the management or control over one of the basic means of production, hence creating one of the economic conditions for the country's sovereignty. This measure must be preserved, and any constitutional amendment must prevent previous rights to land from possibly coming into opposition with the new State. In other words, former owners (the majority of whom are

foreigners or absentees) are not permitted to come reclaiming land that they "owned" in Mozambique. This is the essence of nationalization.

But, at the same time, the measure made all the land state property, and as a result only the State could be its owner.

Experience began to show that, along with the large property belonging to the State, consideration should be given to other forms of land ownership favoring the citizens.

On the one hand, it is still considered that land ownership should not be used to create situations of inequality and privilege, nor to promote the rise of new social castes in the country.

On the other, this is not considered to mean that a citizen who works on the land or uses it for housing cannot be the owner of the land.

It is true that the excessive division of land into plots prevents its more profitable use, precluding advancement to superior types of production. It is also true that the awarding of an ownership title could allow for speculation as well. But, in essence, this type of problem exists with or without an ownership title. Moreover, land ownership allows for greater confidence in the investments and activities carried out on it by the citizens.

Hence, the formula submitted stipulates:

- the State's original ownership of the land, so as to prevent possible opposition from previous holders of rights;
- the rule that appropriation of land by private entities must be based on a social purpose;
- the necessity for conditions favoring direct users and producers; and,
- conditions to prevent the right of ownership from possibly being used to foster situations of economic domination or privilege to the detriment of the majority of citizens.

The basic intent is to prevent small producers and peasants, comprising the majority of our population, from being deprived of the ownership of land as a result of the action of large property holders.

So, as a result, the principle of the transfer of land ownership by the State to individual and collective persons is established.

This means that it will become possible for our country's peasants and other citizens to have land ownership. At the same time, the Constitution stipulates the need for rules to prevent the reestablishment of situations whereby a minority of persons take control of most of the land, to the detriment of direct producers.

We shall have to adapt the existing legislation, the law on land and its regulations, so as to include this principle of land ownership and possession.

The principle of environmental protection and conservation is discussed in the Constitution. Nature is an irreplaceable asset that not only belongs to the present generation, but must also be preserved for future generations.

In the realm of education and health, the constitutional text attempts to adapt to the new dynamics imposed on these sectors, which have already been established at the Fifth Congress.

For example, it calls for the participation of the community and private entities in education, as well as the participation of individuals and institutions in health development.

7. Affirmation of the Mozambican Cultural Personality

The proposed Constitution, reaffirms and develops ones of the features of the Mozambican personality, namely, its culture.

It is proposed that the affirmation of the Mozambican personality should constitute one of the State's objectives, and that it should be accompanied by the free expression of the Mozambican society's freely and democratically accepted traditions and values.

It is proposed that the Constitution should define Portuguese as an official language, and that the role of the native languages should be established.

The native languages, as an instrument of culture and communication, should play an increasingly greater role in the relations among citizens and in cultural training and instruction.

The importance of physical education and sports in the overall training of individuals is established.

8. Policy of Nonalignment

In the realm of foreign policy, the principles that have guided the State are reaffirmed, emphasizing the non-aligned nature of our country.

We shall continue to preserve the relations of friendship and solidarity that we have been creating, based on respect for international law. We shall continue to act on behalf of transformation of international economic relations in a more just and equitable direction.

9. The Institutionalization of the State

An important element in a Constitution is the organization of the State's power; that is, the organs comprising the State.

The organs must represent the people's sentiments. Hence, they must be created through elections. The draft Constitution proposes that two of those organs, the President of the Republic and the People's Assembly, are to be elected.

Currently, the President of the Republic is the President of FRELIMO. In the study that we made previously we concluded that this solution, which had been adopted at the time of independence, should be replaced by another that would enable the citizens to have a say in who should be the Chief of State. In the currently proposed Constitution, all citizens will vote to select the President of the Republic.

We have also analyzed the type of voting. In the past, as a rule, we practiced open voting, and secret voting only in certain instances. In the last elections, we extended secret voting to new areas. We have begun holding secret elections for the Provincial Assemblies and in cities.

Open voting has the advantage of making it possible for each individual's positions to be overtly explained to the candidates. However, experience has also shown that secret elections enable each one to express his position more safely, without fear of criticism or intimidation. Hence, the results of the voting are more authentic. Those who are elected emerge reinforced.

The draft Constitution therefore proposes that the President of the Republic be elected by a direct and secret ballot.

Any Mozambican citizen can be a candidate. It is proposed that each candidate be put forth by at least 5,000 proponents, 200 of whom must necessarily be residents of each province.

Candidacies need not be introduced by the Party.

It is also proposed that the term of the President of the Republic be limited. Thus, after having been elected, the President of the Republic may be a candidate again only two more times. This means that every president can hold presidential office only for a maximum of 15 years.

To guarantee that the President of the Republic is always in full possession of his faculties, it is proposed that the age limit for exercising the Presidency of the Republic be 70 years; which means that a citizen over age 65 may not run as a candidate.

This is followed by some similar rules regarding the election of deputies to the People's Assembly.

For example, each deputy will be elected in one particular territorial area designated as an electoral district. This makes it possible for each territorial area to have someone representing it in the People's Assembly.

The election will also be by direct and secret vote. It is also proposed that there be a plurality of candidacies; that is, that there be several candidates competing for each deputy's seat. This will allow the citizens a greater choice.

The role of the President of the Republic as the supreme leader of the State is established. Hence, it is incumbent on him to guarantee respect for the Constitution. His position is higher than that of the other State organs.

In his relations with the People's Assembly, the President of the Republic addresses the Assembly on the nation's major problems.

The People's Assembly makes the laws. They are the laws that determine all the fundamental aspects of the nation's existence. For example, there is the law defining what is a crime, and what penalties are imposed for it. There is the law regulating the exercise of the rights stipulated in the Constitution; and it is by law that taxes are established, and the State Plan and Budget are approved.

The strength of the Assembly stems from the fact that the deputies come from all parts of the country, by way of election. Therefore, it is those elected representatives who decide what is considered to be the best for the nation.

The proposed Constitution attempts to have these two very important organs collaborate in the discharge of their functions in a balanced manner, so that the power of either of them will not be absolute.

Thus, the laws passed by the People's Assembly must be promulgated by the President of the Republic. If the latter, as Chief of State, thinks that the Assembly should reconsider some matters, he has the right to recommend to the Assembly that it reexamine the law. If the latter should approve the law by a two thirds majority, the President must promulgate the law.

This proposal is in keeping with our tradition, and particularly with the need for a strong, albeit not unlimited authority. The country's situation demands that type of leadership.

The President heads the government. He presides over the formulation of the government's major lines of action.

In directing everyday action the President is assisted by the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister ensures the Government's activity, by mandate of the President, holding authority over the members of the Government for this purpose.

The Government's activity must be monitored by the Assembly. To this end, it is proposed that, after the holding of general elections, the Government should present a proposed government program, which must be submitted to the People's Assembly for approval. This is aimed at guaranteeing that the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers will collaborate closely in solving the people's problems.

In addition to its legislative prerogatives, the People's Assembly has the authority to speak out on the major national issues. Among the most important issues are the control of constitutionality, the demarcation of territory and territorial division, the electoral law, the referendum system, and matters relating to citizens' guarantees, among others, as well as those that we have cited previously.

An analysis was made of the important issue of the Supreme People's Court's relationship with the People's Assembly. By its nature, the Supreme People's Court should operate independently. However, its importance has caused the Assembly not to be excluded from the process of appointing the heads of this court. Hence, it is proposed that the presidential nomination of the president and vice president of that organ be confirmed by the People's Assembly. In this way, the composition of that organ would benefit the confirmation of the people's representatives, through the process of their appointment, involving the President of the Republic and the People's Assembly, both resulting from universal suffrage. Their authority and legitimacy would emerge incontrovertibly reinforced.

In the reflection made, the necessity for the People's Assembly to start operating in a more continuous manner was discerned. Thus, the quality of the legislative work would better reflect the sentiments of the citizens.

At the same time, however, it was considered that the country's situation still requires an organ capable of meeting more easily, which could adopt laws and make other decisions in emergency situations. For this reason, the Standing Commission of the People's Assembly will exercise those powers in the interval between People's Assembly sessions. This authority has, however, been limited. It was thought that certain issues (for example, the definition of nationality, the electoral law, and the creation of taxes) could only be decided by the Assembly itself, meeting in a plenary session.

Thus far, we have discussed the organs existing on the central level. The central organs, as a rule, decide on all matters relating to the nation as a whole. Examples of this are the exercise of sovereignty, national defense, the issuance of currency, and diplomatic relations.

Our State is a unified State. This means that we have a single central authority in the entire country, making it possible to concentrate the efforts of the entire nation on the same objectives, to share successes and difficulties, and to advance, united, toward the construction of common progress.

But, at the same time, the organization of the State must be such that it also allows local problems to have the capacity and mechanisms for their solution. Therefore, the Constitution takes up this important issue.

The local organs are intended to enable the citizens to participate in solving the problems that directly concern a certain community, for example, one locality or one city.

According to our tradition, those organs consist of assemblies and executive organs. We must undertake an analysis of the Assemblies' operation, and then determine the manner in which the organs are to assume responsibility on each echelon. That matter is left to the law.

10. On the Single Party System and the Multiparty System

Either of the two systems, the single party and multiparty system, offers advantages and disadvantages, depending on the specific situations in each country.

Advantages of the multiparty system:

- it enables the citizens to make a choice, by selection, of one among several concepts of national policy;
- it allows for the creation of different positions on issues of national concern, in an atmosphere of open debate;
- it allows for the reinforcement of public control over the action of leaders.

It is essentially for this reason that it is claimed that the multiparty system contains greater democratic potential than the single party system does.

Some of these advantages can also be achieved in a single party system, provided that democracy is guaranteed in the party's operation. And, in countries such as ours, the multiparty system also offers disadvantages;

Disadvantages of the multiparty system:

- in the phase that we are experiencing, one of consolidating national unity, the existence of several parties could easily degenerate into a factor for the nation's division: the parties, in search of votes, could acquire a regional, ethnic, religious, etc., nature;
- the existence of several parties could cause the power struggle to divert the nation's attention, coordination, and efforts from solving the principal national problems;
- external forces could finance and manipulate parties for purposes contrary to the national interests.

In this debate it is important to note that, while it is unacceptable to impose a single party system against the will of the nation, it is also unacceptable to impose a multiparty system on the people, based on outside pressures or fashion.

In the process of discussing the Constitution we must all express our ideas freely, and debate this issues in depth, taking into account the experience of other African countries which, like ours, are consolidating national unity and seeking to coordinate capacities, resources, and efforts to foster socioeconomic development, to consolidate national independence, and to reinforce the practice of democracy.

Liberia

Government Talks Delegation Departure Confirmed

AB1106144390 Paris AFP in English 1426 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] In Monrovia, airport officials confirmed that a Liberian government delegation had left on a chartered flight.

As well as Mr. Scott and Mr. Bowier, whose presence was signaled by the Liberian Embassy in Freetown, the delegation included president pro-tempore of the senate, Tambakai Jangaba, and Gba Gbala, managing director of the Liberian Free Zone Authority, the official said. Mr. Gba, who was not listed as a member of the announced delegation, is also campaign manager of the ruling National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) and former Doe political adviser.

Rebel Delegation To Arrive in Abidjan 11 Jun

AB1106135190 Paris AFP in English 1338 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Meanwhile sources close to the NPFL [National Patriotic Front], who are being led by fugitive former government official Charles Taylor, said the rebel delegation would arrive in Abidjan by road late Monday [11 Jun] and would try to charter a flight for Freetown. They named the delegation as Tom Woewiyu, chairman, Enroc Dogolia, co-chairman, Samuel Dokie, consultant, Prince Barclay, security adviser, and James Zota, legal adviser.

The sources said the NPFL team feared for its security and would not book flights on Nigeria Airways or Ghana Airways in the event that members of the Liberian Government was on board.

In Freetown, U.S. officials said the peace talks are to be held at the United States Information Service (USIS) auditorium as early as late Monday.

A Liberian Embassy release on Monday said the government delegation participating in the talks would be led by Justice Minister Jenkins Scott and Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier. The statement did not say when officials in the delegation would arrive or how long the talks would last.

Church sources, meanwhile, said the religious leaders in the government delegation had arrived in Freetown, but this has not been confirmed.

The Sierra Leone authorities have so far not commented on the decision to hold talks in Freetown.

Church Members, U.S. Official Leave for Talks

AB1106122090 Paris AFP in English 1201 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Abidjan, June 11 (AFP)—Delegations of church leaders and rebels of the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) were on their way to Freetown, Sierra Leone

Monday for peace talks to end a six-month insurgency. Meanwhile Liberian Government officials were scheduled to fly out of the Liberian capital Monrovia for Freetown on a charter flight later in the day, an AFP reporter in Monrovia said.

A group of religious leaders forming part of the government delegation and a U.S. Embassy official from Monrovia left on a charter flight early Monday. U.S. officials said their envoy will report back on the talks but would not take part in the discussions.

Meanwhile, NPFL representatives were on their way to Abidjan Monday where they are to secure transport to the Sierra Leonean capital. One commercial flight left here for Freetown early Monday, but it was not known if anyone from the rebel movement seeking to unseat President Samuel Doe was aboard. The next commercial flight leaves Abidjan for Freetown on Wednesday.

Church Leader Cites Government, Rebel Atrocities

AB1106205290 Paris AFP in English 1829 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Monrovia, June 11 (AFP)—Leaders of the Liberian Council of Churches (LCC) and Muslim Council on Monday called on government troops and rebel forces to stop "brutal and senseless" murders against innocent people. LCC acting President Bishop William Dixon told a prayer service held at the Providence Baptist Church here that he had received "continuous reports of atrocities" by government forces and the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels in areas under their control.

Bishop Dixon said he had learned that the NPFL rebels have set up a court at the West German run Bong Mining Company 70 kilometers (45 miles) northwest of here where they are trying and executing people. The rebels took control of the mine on Wednesday. He said a prominent contractor there whom he did not name was executed on Sunday after a court trial. He did not say what was the man tried for, but said the man belonged to the Vai ethnic group and was apparently mistaken by the rebels for being from the Mandingo tribe.

The insurgents are said to be killing Mandingos, who are accused of supporting the government, and members of President Samuel Doe's Krahn tribe in areas under rebel-held areas in retaliation for murders of Gios and Manos, accused of being rebels, by soldiers.

Bishop Dixon also called on troops to stop killing innocent people in the Monrovia area, and condemned the killing of Clay Ashland Mayor R. Vanjah Richards. The bodies of Mr. Richards and eight others were discovered in Clay Ashland 22 kilometers (14 miles) from the capital where men in military uniform abducted them last Tuesday.

"Give peace a chance," he told some 100 Christians attending a prayer service organized by a group calling itself Christians United for Peace.

The prayer service was preceded by a peace march in the major streets of Monrovia to coincide with preparations for ceasefire talks to start late Monday or Tuesday in the Sierra Leone capital Freetown.

Mayor, 8 Others Found Dead Near Monrovia

*AB1106143690 Paris AFP in English 1429 GMT
11 Jun 90*

[Text] Monrovia, June 11 (AFP)—Nine bodies, including that of a mayor, were found Monday four days after the men disappeared, reportedly abducted by armed men in uniform in the city of Clay Ashland 22 kilometers (14 miles) from Monrovia, informed sources said.

A Baptist pastor who asked to remain anonymous said he identified the body of Mayor R. Vanjah Richards at the John F. Kennedy morgue early Monday, but could not identify the bodies of the other victims.

Mr. Richards was a University of Liberia art professor and is the brother of the president of the Liberia Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention, Walter Richards.

According to family sources, men dressed in military uniforms went to Clay Ashland last Wednesday and said they were looking for rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPLF). They were told there were no rebels in the area, but the armed men later took Mr. Richards and the other persons away.

Dozens of Liberians, particularly those of the Gio and Mano tribes accused of being rebels, have been hauled off by soldiers in the past three weeks, with their bodies turning up around the West African capital a few days after their abduction.

Army Major, Others Arrested

*AB1106212590 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2030 GMT 11 Jun 90*

[Text] Major Henry K. Johnson and two lieutenants of the Armed Forces of Liberia and others have been arrested and detained at the post stockade in connection with the killing of Mr. Harry Vanjah Richards, mayor of Clay Ashland, Mr. James Coleman, councillor, Mr. Bob Merciner, and (?an unknown) brother. Meanwhile, the chief of staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia has set up a special court martial board headed by Brigadier Moses Peck to put up a speedy trial for their (?horrible) offense.

The chief of staff further assured the general public of its fullest protection as he has mounted a special security patrol to minimize the atrocities (?forming) in and around Monrovia. Additionally, he assured the families of the deceased that the military would ensure that the penalty commensurates with the crime committed. The Defense Ministry regrets the incident and extends heartiest condolences to the bereaved families.

FRG To Airlift Citizens From Rebel-Held Area

*AB1106134390 Paris AFP in French 1119 GMT
11 Jun 90*

[Text] Bonn, 11 Jun (AFP)—The FRG today hoped to begin to airlift its 140 nationals working at the Bong iron mine, about 50 km north of Monrovia. The evacuation exercise was not carried out yesterday because it was not possible to contact the rebels.

"We are still trying to get in touch with the rebels," who are holding the mine, in order for them to provide assurances of safety, an FRG Foreign Ministry spokesman told AFP.

An FRG Army Transal chartered aircraft is available in Freetown and ready to take off for the mine site, which has an airfield, in order to evacuate the West Germans and about 60 Europeans, according to the same source. Yesterday, the spokesman stated that the situation of the Europeans in Bong is not cause for worry, adding: "We continue to maintain radio contact with the Germans, who have reassured us."

Evacuation Begins

*AB1206112690 Paris AFP in French 1048 GMT
12 Jun 90*

[Text] Bonn, 12 Jun (AFP)—The evacuation of 140 West German nationals residing at the Bong Mines site (50 km north of Monrovia), held by Liberian rebels, started this morning, it was learned from the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Bonn.

A ministry spokesman told AFP that a Transall aircraft belonging to the West German Army, which had left Freetown (Sierra Leone), had been able to land this morning in Bong, where it loaded 62 passengers at 0930 GMT. The aircraft was expected back in the Sierra Leonean capital at 1030 GMT, he added.

"We have obtained security guarantees from the rebels," the spokesman stressed, adding that two other flights were scheduled to take place during the day to evacuate all the Germans and 60 other Europeans who are at the iron mine site, operated by the West German company Thyssen.

The evacuation, which was scheduled to start on 10 June, could not begin before now because the West German authorities were unable to contact the guerrilla leaders.

Citizens Told To Leave 'Immediately'

*AB1206134890 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT
12 Jun 90*

[Text] Monrovia, June 12 (AFP)—The West German Government on Tuesday warned its citizens to leave Liberia "immediately" and said that Bonn was arranging a special flight to evacuate them on Wednesday [13 Jun] or Thursday, diplomats said. Ambassador Juergen Gehl said the flight was being arranged to evacuate all Germans from the James Spriggs Payne airport in Monrovia via Freetown, Sierra

Leone, to West Germany. He said any European community or U.S. national wishing to join the German flight "on a space available basis should contact the embassy immediately and not later than Tuesday."

Bonn's decision to evacuate Germans from Liberia follow attacks last week by National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels at the West German-run Bong Mining Company 70 kilometers (45 miles) northwest of Monrovia. Dr. Gehl said there were 181 West Germans still in the West African country, and that the embassy was arranging to airlift 111 Germans currently stranded at the Bong mines where there is an airfield.

(In Bonn, West German Foreign Ministry officials said the airlift, originally planned for Sunday, got underway Tuesday when the Air Force Transall aircraft landed at the Bong mines.

(The officials said 62 people had boarded the plane for its return trip to Freetown, Sierra Leone, where peace talks between the Liberian Government and NPFL rebels seeking to unseat President Samuel Doe were due to start.

(They said the evacuation was delayed because rebel field commanders earlier had not agreed to allow the plane to land at the mines, now under rebel control.)

A NPFL delegation was still trying to secure transport to the Sierra Leone capital on Tuesday.

Doe Opponent Supports NPFL for 'Interim'

*AB1106185690 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 11 Jun 90.*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program; passage as heard]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Well, a leading political opponent of Samuel Doe's government in Liberia is Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who now lives and works in the United States of America. She is here in London at the moment, and Robin White asked her if she believed the Freetown talks would be a success.

[Begin recording] [Johnson-Sirleaf] Yes, I do believe so. I think any initiative that has the effect of stopping the bloodshed and destruction is something, at least, to be welcomed.

[White] Who has got to give what at this meeting?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] I do believe that the present government, headed by Samuel Doe, will eventually have to relinquish power because I think this is the wish of the Liberian people, and that we will have established some interim government, somewhat broad-based, will obviously have to be headed by the Patriotic Front [NPFL, National Patriotic Front of Liberia], and that eventually, we will move toward free and fair elections.

[White] Why will it have to be headed by the Patriotic Front?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] Simply because they sacrificed, suffered, many, in fact, have been those who have brought us to the point of change.

[White] But have they yet won the war?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] No, they have not. I am not saying it is because they cannot. I think it is largely because they, too, see that an attempt to win the war and taking it to its ultimate conclusion, that is, a major military confrontation in Monrovia, could be disastrous.

[White] I understand you have just been in West Africa and you have had a meeting with Charles Taylor. What did you tell him?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] What did we talk about is perhaps the more appropriate way to put it. To do the right thing, if I may use [name indistinct] words, that is, to attempt to bring out of this violence a true, creative transformation of a society—something that escaped us when Samuel Doe took over in 1980—to try at some point to reconcile, to reconstruct.

[White] And what did he say?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] I think he is quite receptive. I think he has some good ideas. I think he may need to think some, talk some more with other people, and certainly work with a large number of people, a cross section of people.

[White] Indications are that he is not prepared to talk to other people, that he has got no time for people like you at all.

[Johnson-Sirleaf] Never mind that. I think he will come to the point where he will have to. I think he talks to lots of other people. I think he is willing to listen to people. Obviously, there is a war going on and that has to be his primary preoccupation. So right now, the question of—he has got a war on his hands, he has got to win the war, and then after the war, other things come into place. But I have not found him or any of his assistants unwilling to listen, unwilling to talk to people.

[White] He has specifically said that he will not allow anybody like you to get into power on his back.

[Johnson-Sirleaf] Well, I think he said he is not going to be dictated to. Fair enough. I do not think it is a question of dictation, and I do not think it is a question of anybody getting to power on anyone's back. It is a struggle we all have fought. Many of us may not carry a gun or be out on the battlefield; but we fought it in our own way, and any victory that comes to any group comes as a result of the struggle and the contribution that has been made by all of us.

[White] Do you, in fact, have any time for Charles Taylor at all, or are you working right now to make sure that he does not get to power?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] Oh, no, no, no. We do not play these games. No. I do believe, I said to you that the Patriotic Front will have to head the new government. We hope it

is going to be a transitional government. And we hope that at some point the Liberian people are going to have the right of choice, which is what our struggle is all about. And I do hope that Charles Taylor, as head of a transitional government, will be able to start a process of healing and a process of reconstruction; and so long as he is prepared to work with other people, I think he will get the support. [end recording]

Minister, Others 'Not Stranded' in Sierra Leone

AB1206095090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
0709 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] The Liberian Government has clarified that the acting minister of internal affairs, Mr. Ansumana Kromah, is in the Guinean capital, Conakry, on an official mission and not stranded in Kenema, Sierra Leone, as reported by the British Broadcasting Corporation, the BBC, yesterday. The BBC reported that more than 3,000 Liberians including Acting Internal Affairs Minister Kromah, an assistant minister in government and a representative from Nimba County (?were stranded) in Kenema trying to find a place to stay.

Last week, Minister Kromah departed the country to deliver a special message to Guinean President Lansana Conte from President Samuel Kanyon Doe. According to the Liberia Embassy in Guinea, at that time President Conte held a one-hour closed-door meeting with Minister Kromah and described their talks as successful.

Niger

Student Sources Say Security Forces Arrest 100

AB0806204890 Paris AFP in English 2019 GMT
8 Jun 90

[Text] Niamey, June 8 (AFP)—Security forces during Thursday [7 Jun] night entered the university campus of Niamey, whose students are on strike, and arrested a number of students, an official source said Friday. Student sources put the number of arrests at about 100. The Education Ministry meanwhile announced that the university was closed because of the unrest.

Witnesses said police first entered the medicine faculty Wednesday after clashes between striking students and non-strikers. The police mounted a second intervention during the night of Thursday to Friday, they said. No details of the intervention were available and it was not immediately known what was behind the student strike.

Sources said the situation was tense but calm Friday in the Niger capital, where student and workers unions had called for a mass meeting Saturday morning and a general strike for Monday. On February 9, clashes between students and police as Niamey left three dead according to official sources, 14 according to the students.

President Issues Warning Against General Strike

AB0906062690 Paris AFP in English 0152 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] Abidjan, June 9 (AF)—Niger President Ali Saibou issued a public warning Friday [8 Jun] against a general strike called by workers' trade unions and students for early next week, after a number of students were arrested at the university in Niamey, the capital of the West African Sahel state.

The authorities in Niamey also banned a mass meeting that workers and students had called for Saturday morning outside the National Assembly building there, according to reports reaching here.

Earlier on Friday security forces entered the Niamey campus, where students have been on strike since February. Official sources said the troops intervened to head off clashes between striking students and non-strikers. The Education Ministry later said the campus was closed.

Official sources confirmed that a number of arrests were made, but gave no details. Student sources said about 100 people were taken into custody.

Later reports said the USTN, the main Niger trade union confederation, had give notice that it was calling a general strike for Monday and Tuesday, with the effects expected to be particularly felt in the civil service.

The reports said both the workers and students were protesting government budget cuts.

General Saibou made an appeal over national radio and television urging people to ignore the strike call, warning that "every effort will be taken to counter disorder." The government also said the general strike was illegal.

The situation was tense but calm Friday night in the Niger capital, according to sources contacted by telephone.

On February 9, clashes between students and police in Niamey left three dead according to official sources, 14 according to the students.

Though Gen. Saibou took action against police and other officials blamed for the February incident, and he has continued political reforms, the country's economic crisis has continued to worsen.

Niger has lost its main export income, from uranium, because of a glut in supplies on the world market.

And an economic restructuring plan worked out by Western creditor nations put a halt on future hiring in Niger's civil service, which in the past was the main source of employment for university graduates.

Assembly Area Sealed Off to Demonstrators

AB0906094490 Paris AFP in French 0859 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Text] Abidjan, 9 Jun (AFP)—Niamey police early this morning prohibited the public from using the area around the National Assembly, where some trade unions have called for a demonstration, according to reliable sources in Niamey contacted by telephone from Abidjan.

The capital was calm but tense, inhabitants explained. Markets, however, opened normally.

The prefect of Niamey banned this demonstration by trade unions and students in front of the Assembly, which is located in the center of the capital.

The Federation of Niger Workers' Trade Unions has also issued a strike notice for Monday [11 Jun] and Tuesday.

Police Break Up Demonstrations in Niamey

AB0906121790 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT
9 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Niamey, June 9 (AFP)—Police moved in to disperse the first demonstrators to assemble here Saturday [9 Jun] for a banned mass meeting called by several workers' trade unions and students, witnesses said.

The demonstrators threw stones at the police near the main city market here, but no one was reported to have been seriously hurt.

Security forces cordoned off an area near the National Assembly building where the demonstrations was to be held. Organizers tried to hold the protest in another location but were stopped by police. It was not known if anyone had been arrested.

Niger President Ali Saibou issued a public warning Friday against a general strike called by workers' trade unions and students for early next week, after a number of students were arrested at the university in Niamey, the capital of the West African Sahel state.

The authorities in Niamey also banned a mass meeting that workers and students had called for Saturday

morning outside the National Assembly building there, according to reports reaching here. [passage omitted]

General Strike Call Said Widely Followed

AB1106100490 Paris AFP in French 0853 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Niamey, 11 Jun (AFP)—The general strike initiated by Niger trade unions and banned by the government was widely followed here early this morning, according to journalists on the spot. At 0800 GMT, the Niamey Central Market was still closed, taxis and public transport buses were not operating, and civil servants had deserted the ministries, as well as employees of insurance companies and banks.

The strike order is also being well heeded in Maradi, 670 km east of Niamey, it was learned in the Niger capital, where there was no government reaction nor any sign of increased police presence. The Federation of Labor Unions of Niger had announced plans to organize a general strike slated for today and tomorrow, but the government had declared the strike illegal.

Union on Strike's Success; Flights Canceled

AB1106122990 Paris AFP in French 1125 GMT
11 Jun 90

[Text] Niamey, 11 Jun (AFP)—The strike called by the Federation of Labor Unions of Niger (USTN) was heeded today by 95 percent of Niger workers, both in the capital and in the rest of the country, Mr. Laouali Moutarile, USTN secretary general, told AFP. As of 1100 GMT, no incidents were reported and the police continued to keep a low profile.

According to the USTN secretary general, the action is being followed by workers in all sectors of the economy, including the nontraditional sector. The Niamey Market is not open. The industrial action is being observed by 100 percent of mine workers and teachers. Workers in the health, electricity, and posts and telecommunications sectors have maintained minimum service. At the airport, all flights have been canceled except for one Air Afrique flight due to take pilgrims to Mecca in the evening.

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